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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Knights Hoſpitallers

OF

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Styled afterwards,

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at preſent,

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH of

Monſ. L'ABBÉ DE VERTOT.

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BOOK VII.

BROTHER James de Milly, grand prior of Auvergne, ſucceeded the grand maſter De Laſtic. He was then at his priory. They diſpatched the chevalier de Boiſrond his nephew to him, to carry him the act of his election. In this diſpatch the council repreſented to the new grand maſter, how important it was for the good of the order, that he ſhould repair immediately to Rhodes. In the ſame letter they inſinuated to him, that in order to get rid of the recommendations of princes in favour of ſome young knights, and not prejudice the rights of ſeniority, it would be proper for him

JAMES DE MILLY.

1454. 1. June.

him to make an early declaration, that he would grant no favour before he had taken poſſeſſion of his dignity in Rhodes, and taken likeways the oaths uſually tendered to the grand maſters at ſuch ſolemnities.

THE prince paid a juſt deference to this advice, ſet out immediately for Rhodes, and arrived there on Aug. 20. 1454. His preſence was indeed very neceſſary. Mahomet, the haughtieſt and proudeſt man breathing, enraged at the reſolute anſwer that the knights made his ambaſſador, ſwore their ruin, and the deſtruction of Rhodes; and, out of his eagerneſs to be revenged, had juſt ſent thirty gallies, as the harbingers of his fury, who had by his command ravaged the coaſts of the iſles of the order.

OF all the neighbouring princes, whom his vaſt ambition made him look upon as his enemies, there was none more odious to him, or whom he ſuffered more impatiently in the midſt of his territories, than the grand maſters of Rhodes. He intended the year following to fall upon that iſle, and extirpate the whole order of St. John: but he was obliged to defer that enterpriſe upon news of a powerful league that was formed againſt him for the defence of Hungary. Pope Calixtus III. was the head of it; and beſides the king of Hungary, he had engaged in it ſucceſſively one after another, Alphonſus king of Arragon, Philip duke of Burgundy, the republicks of Venice and Genoa, the new grand maſter of Rhodes, and ſeveral princes of Italy.

CHARLES VII. king of France was ſtrongly ſolicited by a legate, whom the pope had ſent him on purpoſe, to join his forces with thoſe of the allies. The pontiff too, upon that prince's appearing averſe to leave his dominions, had wrote to him in imperious terms. But thoſe times were now no more, when popes, either out of a true zeal for religion, or political views, could eaſily carry their point, under the ſpecious pretext of croſades and holy wars, of banithing, as we may ſay, emperors and other ſovereigns into the faithleſs parts of the eaſt. The king of France ſlighted menaces

naces that came diſguiſed under the mask of pious exhortations. However, as he was a truly religious prince, though he was ſtill on his guard againſt the Engliſh, whom he had driven out of France, and that the ambition of the dauphin his ſon gave great uneaſineſs, he nevertheleſs preſented the commander d'Aubuſſon, whom the grand maſter had ſent to deſire ſuccours from him, with conſiderable ſums, which were employed either in buying up arms, or finiſhing the new fortifications of the town of Rhodes.

WHILST all theſe allies were arming ſlowly, and bringing their forces but heavily to the rendezvous, Mahomet, after ſeveral feints, purpoſely to conceal his real deſign, fell at once on the town of Belgrade, that Amurath his father had formerly beſieged to no purpoſe, which made this prince the more fond, out of an an emulation of glory, of ſurpriſing or carrying it by force. This important place is ſituated upon a point of land, in a ſort of peninſula, formed by two rivers, by the Danube to the north, and the Save to the weſt. Huniades, one of the greateſt captains of Chriſtendom, and the only man of his time to be compared with Scander-Beg, lay, during all the time of the ſiege, intrenched with a body of Hungarians on the north bank of the Danube. Mahomet, to make himſelf maſter of the river before Belgrade, and to cut off the communication of the Chriſtian camp with the place, had formed a ſort of ſemicircle of ſlicks and brigantines faſtened together, which took up all the ſpace both above and below the city. Huniades, to break through this incloſure, and throw ſuccours into the place, fitted out a great number of veſſels of different bulks, and putting his braveſt and moſt reſolute ſoldiers on board, goes himſelf at their head, falls down the ſtream, attacks the infidel fleet, leaps firſt into the admiral's galliot, takes it, and, followed by the Hungarian officers, who commanded the land forces, breaks the incloſure, diſperſes the little veſſels that formed it, ſinks part of them, ſeizes on others, puts the troops on board them to the ſword, and enters into the port, dragging after

him the ſhattered remains of the Turkiſh fleet. This lord by his preſence raiſes the courage of the garriſon and inhabitants, and making them a ſpeech: "I am "come, ſays he, in company with theſe brave ſoldiers, "reſolved either to live or die with you, and I will "either ſave the place, or bury myſelf in its ruins."

THIS great man, during the whole ſiege, performed all the functions of a wiſe captain and a reſolute ſoldier. He was general, governor, commander of the fleet and artillery at one and the ſame time; the turks met with him at all the poſts they attacked; they ſaw him in like manner at the head of all the ſallies that were made. They ſay, that in one of theſe ſallies he killed no leſs than twelve enemies with his own hand: but as theſe little advantages were not after all any way deciſive, and that Mahomet was ſtill advancing his works, he ſaw plainly, that nothing but an engagement and a battle could ſave the place. He therefore called the garriſon, the troops that he brought with him, and the braveſt of the inhabitants, to put themſelves under arms; then made choice of the braveſt of them, and out of all theſe troops formed a conſiderable body, put himſelf at their head, and fell into the enemies trenches ſword in hand. He at firſt cut all thoſe to pieces that ſtood in his way; but at the noiſe 1454. of the attack, the Turks ſoon rally and ſtand their ground. Never had the Chriſtians and infidels fought with greater courage and obſtinacy. Huniades, reſolved either to vanquiſh or die, provoked at ſo long a reſiſtance, throws himſelf into the thickeſt battalions of the enemies, forces his way, puſhes and kills all before him, and obliges the infidels to retire in diſorder. Mahomet himſelf runs to their ſuccour, and at the head of thoſe invincible legions of janizaries, which made all the force of his army and empire, charges the Chriſtians, and kills one of the principal officers of the Hungarians with his own hand, but at the ſame time he himſelf receives a deep wound in the thigh which diſables him: they carry him immediately to his tent, where he faints away with loſs of blood.

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THE combat however ſtill laſted with the ſame fury. Huniades makes new efforts, drives them from their batteries, and turns the cannon againſt the tents of the ſultan. But the Chriſtian general, ſeeing a body of ſpahi advancing ſcymetar in hand to cut off his retreat, did not think it adviſable to drive the Turks by too obſtinate an engagement to a deſpair that is frequently more formidable than their ordinary valour; but contenting himſelf with the advantages he had already gained, re-entered triumphantly into Belgrade, amidſt the acclamations of his ſoldiers, who dragged after them a great number of priſoners.

THE ſultan recovering from his ſwoon, was immediately informed of the iſſue of the combat. They could not conceal from him that the firſt baſhas of his court, the vizir, the agâ of the janizaries, and the principal officers of that body of troops were killed: that the cannon was nailed up, and the baggage taken. 'Tis ſaid, that at this ill news, ſo contrary to his expectation, he called for poiſon to put an end to his life and vexation.

'TIS certain however that he loſt above twenty thouſand men of his beſt troops, and that he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and retire to Conſtantinople with precipitation. To increaſe his pain, he received advice, that the knights of Rhodes, in order to make a diverſion during the campaign, had ravaged the coaſts of his dominions, blocked up his ports, done infinite damage to the commerce of his ſubjects, and ſecured that of the Chriſtians. 1454. Aug. 6.

THE ſultan, to be revenged on the knights, put to ſea a ſtrong fleet, having 18000 land forces on board, ordering them to deſtroy all the iſles of the order with fire and ſword. The admiral landed firſt in the iſland of Coos or Lango. He there beſieged a fortified caſtle called Landimachio. The Turks battered the place with a great train of cannon and mortars, and having made a breach, advanced in crowds to the aſſault. They flattered themſelves that they ſhould carry the caſtle

without much oppoſition, but they met with a good number of knights on the breach, who drove them back; and by rolling down great ſtones, and throwing boiling oil and melted lead upon the beſiegers, laid the braveſt of them dead at the foot of the walls. A ſeaſonable ſally following this defence, put an end to the diſpute, and cauſed ſo much trouble and diſorder in the infidel troops, that they re-embarked with more precipitation and eagerneſs than they had run to the aſſault.

THE general, not daunted with this ill ſucceſs, fancied he ſhould be more lucky againſt the inhabitants of the iſland Simia or of Apes. He inveſted the caſtle, and to ſave his men carried on the ſiege by way of ſap, running his mines as far as the middle of the place. But his deſign being timely diſcovered, was prevented by the knights, who, making countermines, defeated his attempt, and advancing ſword in hand, cut the miners and the troops that ſupported them to pieces, and forced the infidels to re-embark. From thence they ſtood for the iſle of Rhodes, and landing ſome ſoldiers, the admiral ordered them to march up with all poſſible ſecrecy into the country, to ſee what guard they kept in the iſland, and whether there were any troops along the coaſt.

THESE ſpies went a good way up into the country without being diſcovered; every thing appeared buried in a profound calm, and without the leaſt diſtruſt; and likewiſe found, that a town at no great diſtance, called Archangel, very well peopled, and the richeſt of the iſland, was in a ſorry condition for defence; whereupon they made the ſignals which the admiral had directed. The general, as ſoon as he ſaw them, put all his infantry into flat-bottomed veſſels, and landing them, the infidels marched ſtraight to the town, ſurpriſed the inhabitants, flew all that made head againſt them, and made ſlaves of the reſt; but fearing to be attacked by all the forces of the order, the Turkiſh admiral, after ravaging the open country, re-imbarked in great haſte. He did the like execution in the iſles of Lerro, Calamo, Niſſaro, Lango and Simia, which he

he viſited again in his return from Rhodes. As thoſe iſles were moſt of them defenceleſs, he ravaged the country, rooted up the vines, cut down the fruit-trees, carried off all the inhabitants that he could ſurpriſe, and after having left marks of his cruelty wherever he went, returned back to Conſtantinople. He preſented Mahomet with a great number of ſlaves which he had made in his expedition: the ſultan viewed them with a barbarous pleaſure, as what gratified his rage againſt the knights: he left them only the choice of dying or abjuring their religion. Several were weak enough to do the latter, and theſe wretches turning Mahometans, ſerved afterwards for guides to the corſairs that infeſted the ſeveral iſles of the order.

BROTHER John de Chateneuf, of the language of Provence, commander of Uſez in the priory of St. Giles, and bailiff of the iſles of Lango, Lerro and Calamo, finding them deſolate and in a miſerable condition, ſurrendered the government of them to the order, who, in a general chapter, deſired the grand maſter to undertake the repeopling of them. And to prevent the like ſurpriſes, the ſame chapter ordered, that 50 knights ſhould reſide conſtantly in the caſtle of St. Peter; that five and twenty ſhould be kept in the iſle of Lango, that forty other knights ſhould be put on board the guard galley which was always kept in the port of Rhodes; and the grand maſter himſelf took care to have a fort built in the town of Archangel for the ſecurity of the inhabitants.

THESE precautions were the more neceſſary, inaſmuch as beſides the war which the order was engaged in againſt the Turks, they were on the point of coming to a rupture with the ſoldan of Egypt, a neighbouring potentate, no leſs formidable than Mahomet. The grand maſter had juſt received a preſſing letter from Louis of Savoy, King of the iſle of Cyprus, in right of queen Charlotte of Luſignan his wife, in which he begged the order's ſuccour and protection againſt the enterpriſes of a baſtard of the houſe of Luſignan, who

by

by help of the credit that he had at the ſoldan's court, pretended to make himſelf maſter of the kingdom.

'TIS well known, that the order poſſeſſed great eſtates, and even ſome towns and conſiderable fortreſſes in that place; ſo that nothing could paſs in a civil war between the queen and the baſtard, but the grand maſter muſt be obliged to concern himſelf in it.

IN order to have a right notion of theſe reciprocal pretenſions, we muſt obſerve, that John de Luſignan, the laſt king of Cyprus, left no heir to his dominions but a young princeſs called Charlotte, which he had by Helena Paleologus his ſecond wife. He was an effeminate prince, of a weak conſtitution, almoſt an idiot, incapable of governing, and the meaneſt man in the nation was better verſed in the affairs of his kingdom than himſelf. The whole authority remained in the perſon of the queen, who herſelf was governed by her nurſe's ſon, an abſolute miniſter, that diſpoſed of the government as he pleaſed, and made the moſt he could of all the poſts, dignities and revenues of the crown.

A PERIOD was put to this unjuſt adminiſtration by the princeſs's marriage with John of Portugal duke of Coimbra. This prince being, in right of his wife, preſumptive heir of the crown, was for entering upon the exerciſe of the rights which the king his father-in-law had neglected. The imperious miniſter oppoſed it, but the prince's party got the better; and the miniſter, fearing his reſentment, took refuge at Famaguſta, which had been long in the poſſeſſion of the Genoeſe. His mother, to revenge the baniſhment of her ſon, got the Portugueſe prince poiſoned; and by his death the miniſter returned to court, and reſumed his former authority in that place.

HE reſumed at the ſame time all his pride; and whether a thirſt of revenge, or the haughtineſs of his temper, was the motive, or elſe, as it generally happens to men of his ſtamp, his head was turned with the too exalted height of his fortune, he kept no meaſures with the widow of the duke of Coimbra. He even ſought induſtriouſly all occaſions of doing her ill offices with the queen

queen her mother. The princeſs, enraged at his haughty and inſolent conduct, complained of it to James de Luſignan, her baſtard brother, who was nominated to the archbiſhoprick of Nicoſia, the capital of the iſland, though not yet in holy orders. He was a man that had abandoned himſelf to ambition, one who never boggled at any crime to gain his ends, naturally cloſe, cruel in cold blood, and, wherever his intereſt was concerned, capable of a premeditated aſſaſſination.

THIS baſtard, during the life of the duke of Coimbra, whoſe courage and capacity he feared, never intermeddled in public affairs, confining himſelf entirely to the buſineſs of his character; but the death of the Portugueſe prince gave new life to his ambition, and he fancied it not impoſſible for him to make his way to the throne, or at leaſt to get into the miniſtry: in order to this it was neceſſary to remove the nurſe's ſon from the direction of affairs.

JAMES, under pretence of revenging the inſults offered to the princeſs, ſtabb'd him with his own hand. He was in hopes of ſucceeding him in his employment, but the queen's wrath would not allow him to appear at court. He fled privately to the houſe of a noble Venetian, his particular friend, called Mark Cornaro, a rich and powerful man, who had conſiderable poſſeſſions in the iſland; but not thinking himſelf ſafe enough in that place againſt the reſentment of an offended queen, he went to Rhodes, and wrote from thence to the pope to deſire a confirmation of his dignity of archbiſhop.

The queen, who was afraid of his ſubtle and crafty genius, traverſed his deſigns at Rome. The baſtard, inceſſed at her oppoſition, carried things to the utmoſt lengths, and laying aſide all thoughts of the archbiſhoprick, got together a parcel of banditti, returned into the iſle of Cyprus, arrived at Nicoſia, formed a ſtrong party, deſtroyed his enemies, and all that could pretend to the miniſtry and government, and ſeized, in ſpite of the queen, upon the forces and revenue of the kingdom. That princeſs prudently diſſembled an uſurpa-

ſurpation which ſhe was not at that time able to oppoſe: ſhe had no remedy left but in a ſecond marriage of her daughter: ſhe contracted her to Lewis ſon to the duke of Savoy, who arrived ſoon after in the iſle of Cyprus with a fleet and a body of land forces on board: all the baſtard had now to do was to make the beſt of his way out of the iſland, and he fled for refuge to Grand Cairo and the court of the ſoldan.

IN the mean time the king and queen dying within a few days of one another, the prince of Savoy and the princeſs his wife were proclaimed king and queen of Cyprus, and as ſuch were crowned with great ſolemnity. The baſtard of Luſignan, as ſoon as he received the news, diſpatched away one of his creatures to Conſtantinople, to deſire Mahomet's intereſt with the ſoldan: and as uſurpers ſtick at nothing, his agent offered in his name to pay the grand ſeignior the ſame tribute that was paid the Egyptian prince out of Cyprus. The baſtard found means at the ſame time by great preſents to engage the ſoldan's ſon and three of his principal miniſters in his intereſt, who did not fail repreſenting to him, that if he would grant the inveſtiture of the kingdom to the baſtard, he would double the tribute which his father uſed to pay in his life-time.

THIS intrigue, of which king Lewis had notice from his ambaſſador at Grand Cairo, was the occaſion of his writing immediately to the grand maſter, to deſire his advice and aſſiſtance in ſuch an important juncture. The order had for a long time before been as a protector to all the princes of the houſe of Luſignan. The grand maſter, as ſoon as he received the king's letters, ſent brother John Delphin, commander of Niſſara, to Grand Cairo, to traverſe the baſtard's pretenſions and intrigues.

THIS embaſſador having an audience of the ſultan repreſented to him, that the iſle of Cyprus being a feudatory of his crown, he was obliged in juſtice to ſupport the lawful rights of the late king's heirs, againſt an ambitious man that was offering to invade them; that theſe heirs, as being his vaſſals, would be exact

in paying the tribute laid upon the iſland, and obſerve an inviolable fidelity to him, for which the whole order would freely be reſponſible. The embaſſador's dexterity, and ſome preſents properly diſtributed among thoſe barbarians, began to incline them to the juſter ſide, when an embaſſador arrived from Mahomet, who repreſented to the ſoldan, that it was the intereſt of all true Muſulmen to hinder the prince of Savoy, and any Latin prince whatever, from ſettling in the Levant. He urged further, that he ſhould look upon all that favoured them as his enemies; that in caſe he granted the inveſtiture of Cyprus to a Latin prince, he ought to be afraid of raiſing an inſurrection in his own dominions; and if he was not ſtrong enough to drive the duke of Savoy's ſon out of the iſland, he offered him the aſſiſtance of his own forces, and would even allow him with pleaſure to make uſe of them to clear the iſle of Rhodes of the knights, who were all Latins by extraction, and irreconcileable enemies to their prophet.

THE Egyptian yielded to remonſtrances, which had all the air of a threat, and came from a prince, whoſe arms and reſentment no body at that time cared to draw upon himſelf. The inveſtiture was granted to the baſtard of Luſignan, and the ſultan, to ſettle him on the throne, ſent him back with a ſtrong army. With this ſuccour he made himſelf in a little time maſter of the whole kingdom. The king and queen had now nothing left but the fortreſs of Cyrene, into which they threw themſelves for refuge: the baſtard immediately inveſted and formed the ſiege of the place. The Genoeſe in this revolution ſtill kept the town of Famagoſta, and the knights maintained themſelves in the caſtle of Colos, a ſtrong place which belonged to the order, and made part of the great commandry of Cyprus.

QUEEN Charlotte de Luſignan, not finding her ſelf ſafe in Cyrene, quitted the iſle of Cyprus, and retired to that of Rhodes, under the protection of the grand maſter. The illuſtrious family from whence that young princeſs was deſcended, her royal dignity, her misfortunes, and above all, that natural empire which beauty gives,

gives, made moſt of the knights become her zealous partiſans; and it was likewiſe obſerved, that, either out of pure generoſity, or ſecret inclination, the commander d'Aubuſſon was particularly devoted to her intereſts. The uſurper on his ſide, in order to gain the ſupport of the republic of Venice, married afterwards Catharine Cornaro, under the ſpecious title of a daughter of St. Mark. Purſuant to this title, thoſe ſubtle republicans, in order to create themſelves a ſort of right over the iſland, gave young Cornaro a portion of an hundred thouſand ducats; and the republick engaged, by a ſolemn treaty, to protect the new king againſt his enemies, meaning thereby the knights of Rhodes, who had taken queen Charlotte under their protection. But the uſurper was not long before he found by experience, that it is rare to find fidelity and honour in treaties that are founded on injuſtice. The uncles of the Venetian lady were ſuſpected of having poiſoned the new king, in order to get a ſhare in the government of the kingdom. 'Tis at leaſt certain, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, that the republic alone reap'd all the benefit of theſe ſeveral uſurpations.

THE grand maſter in the mean time found himſelf in a very difficult ſituation between Mahomet and the ſultan of Egypt, who alike threatened Rhodes with a ſiege. The ſultan too, to have his revenge for the protection which the order gave the queen of Cyprus, had, contrary to the law of nations, ſeized on the embaſſador, Delphin, and all the merchant ſhips of Rhodes that were trading in Egypt. The wiſe grand maſter, in order to find how the Turks ſtood affected, ſent a Greek prelate, Demetrius Nomphylacus by name, to the porte, to deſire a ſafe conduct of Mahomet for the commander de Saconnay, who was impowered to make him propoſals of peace: but he was not heard at that time. The knights were the more alarmed at it, inaſmuch as at the ſame time that they were drained both of money and ammunition, they were yet to defend themſelves not only againſt the Saracens and Turks, but alſo the Venetians, who on ſome trifling pretence re-

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lating to trade, made a deſcent in the iſle of Rhodes, and committed greater ravages and cruelties there than thoſe barbarians had ever done. They returned thither again a little time afterwards with a fleet of 42 gallies, which blocked up the port of Rhodes, and threatened the town with a ſiege.

THE occaſion of this enterpriſe aroſe from the grand maſter's having by way of repriſal, and in order to procure the liberty of his embaſſador and ſubjects detained by the ſoldan, cauſed too Venetian gallies, laden with merchandize for the accompt of ſome Sarazen merchants, to be ſtopp'd, and had ſeized at the ſame time a good number of the ſoldan's ſubjects that were on board the gallies. The infidels were made galley ſlaves, their merchandize was confiſcated; and as for the gallies and the Venetian crew they were diſmiſſed, and allowed to purſue their courſe: all this was done agreeable to the ordinary rules of war, which authoriſe the confiſcating of a friends moveables that are found in the ſame bottom with thoſe of an enemy. But the republick, which was in ſtrict alliance with the Sarazens for the ſake of its commerce, demanded in high terms the reſtitution of the effects that had been ſeized; moſt of the young knights, eſpecially the Spaniſh, were for giving no other anſwer to ſuch unreaſonable and imperious propoſitions, but that of cannon ſhot. The grand maſter however was of a different opinion. He had received advice, that if the order did not readily releaſe the Sarazen priſoners and their merchandize, the commander of the fleet had private orders to ravage all the iſles belonging to the order, to carry off the peaſants and inhabitants of the open country, and then deliver them up to the ſultan as hoſtages for the Sarazens that had been ſeized at Rhodes. "I don't doubt, with "the aſſiſtance of your valour, ſays the grand maſter "in full council, but that I ſhall be able to defend "this place againſt all the forces of the republick, but "I cannot prevent their gallies from ſurprizing our ſub-"jects in the open country; and I believe it is more "adviſeable to give up a few Sarazens, rather than

" expoſe whole families to the danger of being made " ſlaves to the infidels, and perhaps of being forced " by torments to change their religion." The whole council acquieſced to ſo prudent an opinion, the Saracens were delivered up to the Venetian admiral, and charity prevailed over the juſt reſentment of ſo crying an injuſtice.

THE order, in the midſt of ſo many enemies with which it was beſet, to make its difficulties ſtill greater, was unhappily diſtracted with diviſions flowing from ambition and vanity. The procurators of the languages of Spain, Italy, England and Germany complained in a general chapter, that the principal dignities of the order, and particularly the poſt of captain general of the iſland, was annexed to the languages of France, to the prejudice of the other nations; and they maintained, that in a well regulated republick, and in a ſtate compoſed of the nobility and gentry of all Europe, no diſtinction ought to be made but that of ſeniority and merit. The French in anſwer alledged, that the order owed its foundation entirely to their anceſtors; that if in the ſeries of time other nations had been admitted into it, ſtill it was the French alone that adopted them; that the other languages ought always to conſider them as their firſt parents, and that it would be a great injuſtice now to deprive their ſucceſſors of thoſe marks of honour which they had acquired or preſerved at the expence of their blood, and as a juſt recompence of the ſervices which they had done the order.

As to the poſt of captain general, the commander d'Aubuſſon, who acted in that quality in the abſence of the marſhal of the order, replied, that that poſt belonged ſolely to the language of Auvergne, of which the marſhal was the chief; that after all there was no language in the order but had ſome particular dignity annexed to it; and as the French did not include into the functions of the admiral, the great conſervator, the turcopilier and the grand baliff, dignities which had a ſeat in the council annexed to them, and were appropriated to the languages of Italy, Arragon, England and

and Germany, it was very ſurpriſing that the knights of thoſe languages ſhould envy thoſe of Provence, Auvergne and France the poſts of great commander, great marſhal, and great hoſpitaller, which had been exerciſed by French knights ever ſince the foundation of the order. Notwithſtanding this judicious and modeſt anſwer, the malecontents perſiſted in their pretenſions: but as they were ſenſible that their party was not ſtrong enough to carry their point, the procurator of the language of Arragon threw an appeal drawn up in form to the holy ſee before the grand maſter, and withdrew with the other procurators out of the chapter in a ſeditious manner, and alſo went out of the city. The council was of opinion that they ſhould be proſecuted; but the grand maſter being of a mild temper let this firſt fire ſpend itſelf. Some of the old knights interpoſed for an accommodation, when the warmeſt of the diſcontented party came back to the city, without making the leaſt innovation on this head at that time, and returned to their duty. But the grand maſter dying ſoon after of the gout in his ſtomach, they renewed their pretenſions under the maſterſhip of brother PETER RAIMOND ZACOSTA, caſtellan of Empoſta, a Caſtilian by birth, and ſucceſſor to Milly. 'Twas impoſſible for them to terminate this great affair, but by creating a new language in favour of the Caſtilians and Portugueſe, who were ſevered from the Arragoneſe, Navarreſe and Catalans. They annexed the dignity of great chancellor to this new language, ſo that by this augmentation there were afterwards eight languages in the order.

PETER RAIMOND ZACOSTA. 1461.

WE have ſeen a little before, that Mahomet, impatient to fall upon the iſle of Rhodes, had refuſed to grant a ſafe conduct to the commander de Saconny, who had a commiſſion from the grand maſter de Milly to treat of a peace between the order and the port. We muſt obſerve further, that the cauſe of ſuch an harſh refuſal aroſe from the order's reſolution not to hear the leaſt mention of a tribute; other deſigns, and of a much

greater importance, made Mahomet diſſemble ſo reſolute a refuſal, ſo that they were not a little aſtoniſhed to ſee the ſafe conduct brought to Rhodes at a time when they leaſt expected it. The ſurpriſe of the knights was the greater, becauſe that prince was then making extraordinary preparations by ſea and land, which made them ſuſpect that he talked to them of peace only to lull them aſleep and amuſe them by means of a treaty which he was going to break.

THE grand maſter, without diſcovering his juſt diffidence, and in order to pierce into the deſigns of the infidels, ſent brother William Mareſchal, commander of Villefranche, to Conſtantinople, accompanied by two Greeks of the iſle of Rhodes, the one Arrogentille, and the other Conſtance Collace. The negotiation was not ſpun out to any length; there was no mention made at all of tribute, or at leaſt the miniſters of the port did not much inſiſt on that article. Mahomet, who did not care to be interrupted in his projects by the diverſions uſually made by the knights, ſigned a truce for two years, and the embaſſador returned to Rhodes without being able to diſcover on what ſide the ſultan would turn his arms. They were as ignorant of it at the porte, even the very favourites of that prince; and the cadileſcher, or lord chief juſtice of Conſtantinople, ſeeing the campaign ready to open, and having had the boldneſs to ask him where the ſtorm would fall, "If "one hair of my beard, ſays Mahomet to him in a "paſſion, knew my ſecret, I would tear it out this "moment and throw it in the fire:" an anſwer which that miniſter could not apply without putting himſelf into a terrible fright. At laſt the ſecret of this campaign, which kept Europe and Aſia in ſuſpence, declared itſelf; the Turks entered Pendegacia, called anciently Paphlagonia, and ſeized on Sinople and Caſtamone, two of the moſt conſiderable towns in the province, and which, though ſubject to a Mahometan prince, ſerved for a barrier to the imperial city of Trebiſond, ſubject to a chriſtian prince. 'Twas this capital that Mahomet aimed at. That prince, who ever weighed his affairs, always extended his conqueſts gradually,

dually, advancing from one territory to the next adjoining: and having ſecured himſelf on the ſide of the Perſians by a treaty of peace with Uſum Caſſan, he marched ſtraight to Trebiſond, and inveſted it at the ſame time both by ſea and land.

THIS city is ſituated upon the Black ſea, and was formerly part of the ancient Colchis. In the revolution which happened at Conſtantinople, when the pſeudo-emperor Alexis Comnenus loſt his life, prince Iſaac of the ſame houſe fled for refuge to Trebiſond: he made it the capital of a new empire, or rather, according to the genius of the Greeks, who after gave pompous names to trifling places, he gave the ſhining title of empire to a ſtate that conſiſted only of two or three little provinces. His ſucceſſors maintained themſelves with tranquillity enough in that place, till the reign of another Alexis, who lived in the time of Amurath II. The ſons of that Greek prince, impatient of ſucceeding him, rebelled, took up arms againſt the emperor their father, and at laſt againſt one another; and the old emperor loſt his life in theſe civil wars. John, one of theſe unnatural princes, was at laſt left ſole maſter of the empire, reaped the fruit of his numberleſs crimes, and was proclaimed emperor. But he did not long enjoy this dignity, for death bereaved him of the crown, the object of his ambition. David Comnenus the youngeſt of his brothers, was appointed regent and tutor to a young prince whom he left an infant, ſcarce entered into the fourth year of his age. The tutor, who was as perfidious as his brothers, deprived his nephew and his pupil of his life and crown. He afterwards married a princeſs of the houſe of the Cantacuzeni, called Helena, by whom he had eight ſons and two daughters. He beheld theſe children with pleaſure, as the ſupport of the throne he had uſurped; but the divine juſtice, which often in this life makes uſurpers feel the weight of its avenging hand, raiſed up Mahomet, who, at the head of two formidable armies, came to beſiege him in his capital both by ſea and land. The ſiege laſted thirty days. The Greek prince, fear-

ing the place would be taken by ſtorm, entered into a negotiation, and conſented to deliver up the empire and his capital to Mahomet, on condition of receiving another province in exchange. The ſultan agreed to it; the gates of Trebiſond were opened to him, he put a garriſon in it, and in the other places that belonged to Comnenus. This prince followed him to Conſtantinople; but inſtead of executing the treaty, he left him only the choice of either dying or
1461. renouncing his religion. The Greek emperor, ſummoning up his old religious ſentiments, which ambition had ſtifled in him, preferred death to apoſtacy: ſeven of his male children, in imitation of their father, choſe rather to loſe their lives than embrace the Mahometan religion. The infancy of the laſt, who was not three years old, exempted him from martyrdom. Happy if the bloody ſultan had not made him afterwards a renegado!

NOT that this prince was any way affected with the merit of making proſelytes; his ſhameful indifference for all religions is well enough known; but having taken up the barbarous reſolution to let no Chriſtian prince live, whoſe dominions he had conquered, he made uſe of that pretext to get rid of them; and if he found any of them weak enough to be overcome by his threats, he ſoon found another pretence to make them away: and beſides, this change of religion made them ſo odious and contemptible to the Chriſtians their old ſubjects, that they had much rather be ſubject to a natural Muſulman, than to a deſerter and an apoſtate.

WHILST the ſultan was employed in theſe wars, the grand maſter, conſidering the great uſe that a new fort would be of for the defence of the city and port of Rhodes, cauſed one to be built during the truce, upon ſome rocks that ran out a good way into the ſea, ſparing for nothing to make the work ſubſtantial. Philip duke of Burgundy, whom he acquainted with his deſign, furniſhed him with 12000 crowns of gold towards it. The knights, by way of acknowledgment, put his coat of arms on the ſides of this fortreſs, which

was,

was called the tower of St. Nicholas, from a chapel dedicated to that Saint, which was encloſed within the circuit of the fort.

THOUGH there was at that time a ſort of truce between the ſultan and the knights, yet that prince's veſſels and ſome Turkiſh corſairs, whenever they found a favourable opportunity, made deſcents upon the iſles of the order, and carried off all the inhabitants of them that they could ſurpriſe. The grand maſter ſent complaints of it to the grand ſeignior, but his ambaſſador not being heard, the knights, by way of repriſal, fell upon the coaſts of Turky. Mahomet, the haughtieſt prince on earth, could not bear that the knights ſhould dare to treat with him on a foot of equality. He fell into a rage at the bare name of repriſals. To be revenged, he reſolved to drive the knights out of Rhodes and out of all Aſia; but before he engaged in that war, he thought proper to begin with the conqueſt of Lesbos, and ſome other iſlands of the archipelago, from whence the order might draw any ſuccour.

LESBOS is an iſland ſituated in the eaſtern part of the Ægean ſea; a Greek prince of the houſe of Gattiluſio was then in poſſeſſion, and claimed the ſovereignty of it. Mahomet paſſed into the iſle with the troops he had appointed for this conqueſt, and immediately beſieged Mitylene, the capital of the iſland. The pretext that he made uſe of for this war was, that the prince of Lesbos allowed the liberty of his ports to the knights of Rhodes, and to the Genoeſe and Catalan privateers that diſturbed the navigation, and deſtroyed the commerce of the Turks.

THE grand maſter, who was in a ſtrict alliance with the prince of Lesbos, immediately ſent him a conſiderable body of knights, who threw themſelves into the place. He left the defence of it to them, and to the Genoeſe and Catalan privateers that were in the port. Lucio Gattiluſio his couſin ſhared the government and defence of the place with the archbiſhop of Mitylene, whilſt that petty ſovereign, a prince of no very warlike conſtitution, and greatly averſe to dangers, ſhut up, or

rather

rather hid himself in the castle, as in the strongest place, and that which was least exposed. The besiegers, as well as the besieged, in the attack and defence of the place, gave the most signal proofs of their courage. The Turks, who had been used to pass from one conquest to another, could not bear to have a petty prince presuming to stop the progress of the arms of their invincible emperor. They marched desperately on to all the attacks, and great numbers of them lost their lives. Mahomet here found by experience the difference there was between a knight of Rhodes and a Turkish soldier. The knights did not give him a moment's rest; and by the torrents of blood which they made stream down in all their sallies, they made the visier, who commanded at the siege under Mahomet, afraid, lest that prince, who was exceeding brave, and who often exposed his person, should lose his own life before the place. As nothing was dearer to the general than his master's preservation, the prudent minister engaged him, under colour of giving his orders for new succours, to pass back again to the continent, whither he sent him every day an exact relation of what passed at the siege.

THE vigorous resistance of the knights and the Christian privateers not giving him room to flatter himself with a speedy success, he had recourse to bribery, in which he succeeded better than by his arms. He applied himself to the governor of the town, who was of the same name and family as the prince, and promised him, in Mahomet's name, to leave him the sovereignty of the island, if he would facilitate the taking of Mitylene, and engage never to suffer any knights or Christian privateers in the ports of the island.

LUCIO GATTILUSIO could not possibly be ignorant that Mahomet owed most of his conquests entirely to the pledging of his faith, and that he scarce ever kept it; but the weak Greek, dazzled with the lustre of a crown, let himself be seduced by the visier's specious promises. In consequence of which, the traitor opened to him a gate which he was appointed to de-

fend;

fend; the Turks entered in at it in crouds, and maſſacred the knights, who, though deſerted by the Greeks, died all with their weapons in their hands: ſeveral privateers met with a like fate; others, in hopes of life which was promiſed them, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. The traitor, in the midſt of the tumult, ran to the caſtle, and with an affected terror, repreſented to the prince that he was going to be taken by ſtorm, if he did not prevent it by a capitulation; and the weak prince of Lesbos committed the whole management of that affair into his hands. Mahomet, who was not far off, haſtened upon the advice he received from the viſier to reap the glory and benefit of his negotiation: the treaty was agreed on; he promiſed the prince other lands in Greece in exchange for his iſland; and it was ſtipulated, that he ſhould come to Conſtantinople to treat about this exchange. The prince of Lesbos repaired thither with his kinſman, whoſe treachery he was not aware of.

MAHOMET treated them exactly as he had done the emperor of Trebiſond. As a preliminary to the negotiation, he left them only the choice of changing their religion, or of ſuffering immediate death. The two Gattiluſios were baſe and cowardly enough to abjure the faith. They flattered themſelves at leaſt with the hopes of having preſerved their lives by their apoſtacy; but Mahomet looked out for ſome other pretext to get rid of them. That prince, whoſe barbarous politicks made him put every body to death that had any juſt claim to the countries he had conquered, took advantage of the two Gattiluſio's walking abroad, charged it upon them as done with a deſign to make their eſcape, and get out of his dominions without his leave, and thereupon ordered them both to be beheaded. He was ſtill more cruel in his treatment of the Chriſtian privateers that had defended Mitylene, and ſurrendered to the infidels upon the viſier's aſſuring them that their lives ſhould be ſaved. The ſultan, notwithſtanding his viſier's promiſe, and to intimidate their companions, cauſed them to be ſeized, and afterwards

wards ſawed in two, and ordered their limbs to be expoſed to dogs and other voracious animals.

THE grand maſter looked upon theſe cruel executions as forerunners of a war which Mahomet would carry on the next campaign in the iſle of Rhodes. And in order to prepare himſelf for it, he ſent a general ſummons into Europe, directed to all the knights, with particular orders to the receivers to repair to Rhodes to aſſiſt at a chapter which he had called, and to bring thither the annates and reſponſions, for which they were accountable to the common treaſury.

THOSE officers, purſuant to theſe orders of their ſuperior, preſſed ſeveral commanders to ſatisfy and diſcharge what they owed; but the greateſt part of them, eſpecially thoſe of Italy and Arragon, endeavoured by various pretences to elude the payment of what was ſo juſtly required of them. Some pretended that they were taxed at an exceſſive rate; others complained of the grand maſter as an old man that was continually terrified at the leaſt motions of Mahomet, and under the notion of an imaginary war, was always haraſſing them with long and tedious voyages, and inventing one pretence or other to drain them by exorbitant taxes which he laid upon them. Theſe complaints were laid before pope Paul II. and ſeconded by the king of Naples and Arragon, and by the doge of Venice.

THE king of Arragon in particular preſſed the ſoveraign pontiff to ſummon him to Rome to anſwer for his conduct. Here follows the motive of that prince's animoſity: the grand maſter ſtill keeping in his hands the caſtellany of Empoſta, which he enjoyed when he came to the maſterſhip, had demanded of that prince to give back ſeveral manors which had belonged formerly to that great commandry, and which the king had ſeized on by a right of convenience. All theſe princes, actuated by different motives, prevailed with the pope to order the general chapter which was ſummoned to Rhodes to be held at Rome. This was a kind of ſurrendring up the grand maſter to his enemies; and what was worſe, by this new citation and change

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in affairs, they expoſed the iſle of Rhodes to the enterpriſes of Mahomet. The grand maſter might have made uſe of ſo juſt a reaſon to excuſe himſelf from the voyage, and could have alledged the neceſſity he was under of defending in perſon the dominions, the ſovereignty of which the order had intruſted him with: but the venerable old man, eager to prove his innocence on ſo public a theatre as the court of Rome, repaired thither immediately, and the chapter was opened ſoon after. The grand maſter, who had the oldeſt commanders and beſt good men of the order appearing in his favour, ſoon convinced the pope, that the complaints brought him had no manner of foundation, but were owing only to the libertiniſm of ſome profligate knights, who, though they had great eſtates, did not yet find them ſufficient to ſupport their exceſſive luxury: and to ſhew his diſintereſtedneſs, and take away from the king of Arragon all ſubject of complaint, he at the ſame time made a reſignation of the caſtellany of Emposta to the order and chapter, having kept it in his hands after his election to the grand maſter-ſhip, with the view only of enabling him to go on with building the fortreſs of St. Nicholas.

SUCH teſtimonies of his diſintereſtedneſs covered his enemies with confuſion. The pope himſelf was aſhamed of having liſtened to them, and ſuffering himſelf to be impoſed upon by them; and in order to repair the injury he had done the grand maſter, gave him the higheſt teſtimonies of his eſteem in private, and affected to diſtinguiſh him in publick by all the marks of reſpect that were ſo juſtly due to his merit, and the rank he held among Chriſtian princes. The chapter made alſo ſeveral ſevere regulations againſt the diſobedient, which were approved by the holy ſee. The grand maſter was preparing to carry them himſelf to Rhodes, when a pleurify, that ſeized him at Rome, put an end to his life; the common opinion being, that the uneaſineſs and fatigues which the wicked religious occaſioned him, had haſtened his end. The pope cauſed him to be buried in the church of St. Peter, and omitted no kind

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of pious magnificence that was proper to adorn his funeral obſequies; and by a decree of the chapter they obſerved in the epitaph of this grand maſter, that he was equally diſtinguiſhed by his piety, his charity and his capacity for the arts of government.

THE general chapter then proceeded to a new election: the votes were divided between brother Raimond Ricard of the language of Provence, JOHN BAPT. grand prior of St. Giles, and brother URSINI. JOHN BAPTISTA URSINI prior of Rome, and of ſo illuſtrious a family, 1467. that his very name, abſtracted from his perſonal merit and qualities, might alone ſerve for a title, and procure him a preference to any competitor. Yet he carried it by one voice only: a circumſtance which may make one preſume, that the plurality of votes would hardly have been on his ſide in any other place but Rome.

THE new grand maſter, taking leave of the pope, made all the haſte he could to Rhodes, where Mahomet's ambition and forces made them always apprehenſive of ſome ſurpriſe. He ſent a particular ſummons to the braveſt and moſt experienced knights of each language to repair thither. Nor was it long before there arrived brother Bertrand de Cluys grand prior of France; brother John de Bourbon commander of Boncourt; brother John de Sailly commander of Fieffes; brother John Wulner commander of Oiſon; and brother Peter d'Aubuſſon, one of the greateſt captains of the order, and particularly verſed in that branch of military ſkill that relates to fortifications, on which account the grand maſter made him ſurveyor of thoſe of the iſland. 'Twas by his advice and direction that they made the town ditches deeper and wider, and raiſed a wall ſix hundred foot long, thirty ſix broad, and ſix thick, on that ſide that lay towards the ſea.

THIS precaution was the more neceſſary, inaſmuch as they were afterwards informed the ſultan would have opened the campaign with the ſiege of Rhodes, if he had not been detained at Conſtantinople by a dangerous illneſs.

neſs. And the plague breaking out at the ſame time in that capital of the Turkiſh empire, he was obliged to put off that enterpriſe for ſometime. However, not to allow the knights any reſpite, he put to ſea thirty gallies with a body of foot on board, giving the commander orders to make deſcents in the weakeſt places of the iſland, to carry off the inhabitants, and deſtroy all before him with fire and ſword. The grand maſter having advice of this armament, defeated the deſign of it by his prudent conduct and the valour of the knights. There were then ſeveral caſtles in the iſland, ſituated at certain diſtances from one another, which in time of war ſerved for a retreat to the inhabitants of the country. Among theſe ſtrong places were the caſtles of Lindo, Feracle, Villeneuve, Catauda, Archangel and Tiranda. The peaſants had orders to retire thither with their cattle; and the knights dividing themſelves into different bodies of cavalry, and ſuffering the Turks to land, fell upon ſuch as advanced into the country, killed a great number of them, took ſeveral priſoners, and forced the reſt to fly for their lives and get on board their fleet.

MAHOMET, whoſe whole life was a kind of continual campaign, provoked at this defeat, gave out ſtrict orders immediately for the making a new armament by ſea and land. They made no queſtion but theſe extraordinary preparations were deſigned either againſt the iſle of Rhodes or that of Negrepont, which was then ſubject to the Venetians. In this uncertainty, thoſe politick republicans, in order to make their advantage of the aſſiſtance of the order, ſent embaſſadors to the grand maſter and council, to propoſe a league with them, both offenſive and defenſive, againſt their common enemy. Nothing in outward appearance could be more convenient for both; but when they came to examine into the conditions of the treaty, the knights were ſtrangely ſurpriſed to find the Venetians demanded as a preliminary, that the order ſhould put itſelf under the protection of their republick, and ſubmit to a dependence on it, and ſhould for the future undertake no-

thing without their orders. The grand master rejected the project of a league with a just indignation, which, under the name of an alliance, would have reduced the order into a state of downright vassalage: and if this particular had not been expressly mentioned by some celebrated historians, one could hardly imagine, that so wise a body as the senate of Venice could have been capable of making so odious a proposal, to an order composed of the most illustrious and valiant nobility and gentry of Christendom, which by its single forces had so long made head against those of the Sarazens and Turks. But tho' this particular league proved ineffectual, yet as soon as they had heard at Rhodes, that Mahomet's troops had invested the isle and town of Negrepont, the grand master, in a sense of what his profession obliged him to, viz. to defend all the dominions of Christian princes, sent immediately a squadron of gallies well provided to the succour of the Venetians. The chevalier de Cardonne commanded this squadron, and the commander d'Aubusson, greatly skilled in the attack and defence of any strong hold, was put at the head of a body of brave knights, who had orders to try to land in the island, and throw themselves into the town which was besieged.

THE isle of Negrepont was antiently called Eubœa. It is about three hundred and sixty miles in circumference; its greatest breadth is forty, and its least twenty miles: and it has a communication with the main land of Bœotia by a bridge over the Euripus. The capital of it was called Calchis by the Athenians, but it has since taken the general name of the island. John Bondumiero and Lewis Calbo his lieutenant, both noble Venetians, commanded in it for the republic; and Paul Erizo, another noble Venetian, who had just before exercised the office of proveditor there, seeing the enemy draw near to besiege it, generously resolved to stay in the place, though the time of his service was expired. Mahomet, before he attacked the isle of Rhodes, resolved to reduce that of Negrepont from whence the knights might otherwise obtain succours.

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THIS warlike prince, followed by an army of an hundred and twenty thouſand men, arrived on the bank of the Euripus, which he croſſed on a bridge of boats that he cauſed to be built; at the ſame time that his fleet, conſiſting of three hundred ſail, and commanded by the Viſier Machmut, was advancing forwards. There were three principal attacks in the ſiege, in which the Turks at firſt loſt a great number of men: but a traitor diſcovering a place of the walls which they had overlooked, the fortifications of which were old and ruinous, they played upon it with their artillery, and beat down a great pannel of the wall. The beſieged ſent advice of the danger they were in to general Canalé who commanded the fleet of the republick. The gallies of the order had joined it. The Chriſtian fleet came up immediately in ſight of the enemy. They had the wind and current on their ſide, and had reſolved in a council of war to attack the bridge over the Euripus, in order to cut off the communication which the Turks had with the main land, and thereby deprive them of the convoys which they received from thence. All the fleet was eager for an engagement, and demanded it with great ſhouts; and particularly the knights de Cardone and d'Aubuſſon preſſed Canalé to advance. But that admiral caſting his eyes by chance on his only ſon, who looked frighted at the danger, after reflecting for ſome time whether he ſhould engage the enemy or retreat, at laſt ſhamefully tacked about, ſailed away from the infidels, and abandoned the beſieged, who were then left without any hopes of ſuccour. 1470.

THE ſultan took advantage of their conſternation: his troops mounted the next day to the aſſault, and ſtormed that part of the wall that his artillery had beaten down. They did not enter however, till after a gallant defence had been made over the bodies of Bondumiero, Calbo, and the principal officers of the garriſon, who died bravely on the breach.

THE proveditor Lizzo diſputed every inch of ground, making a ſtand at every intrenchment thrown up in the

ſtreets; but ſeeing himſelf forced on all ſides, he made his way to the caſtle, where he held out for ſome time with great bravery: but at laſt wanting proviſions and ammunition, and moſt of his ſoldiers being wounded, he was forced to capitulate. He would not however deliver up the caſtle till he had the Sultan's expreſs word for the ſecurity of his life. That prince ſwore by his own head, that Erizzo's ſhould not be touched; but when he had him in his power, he ordered him to be ſawed in two; and mixing raillery with cruelty, and meanly playing with a deceitful and ambiguous oath, he ſaid, that he had indeed given Erizzo aſſurance for his head, but that he had never meant to ſpare his ſides.

THAT gallant Venetian had with him Anne Erizzo his daughter, a young lady of ſurprizing beauty. Her father, fearing ſhe would be afterwards expoſed to the brutiſh luſt of the ſoldiers, begged of the executioners to put her to death before they diſpatched him; but they replied, that ſhe was reſerved for the ſultan's pleaſures. They led her to that prince, who was charmed with her beauty, and offered her both his heart and his empire. The diſcreet lady anſwered, with a modeſt intrepidity, that ſhe was a Chriſtian and a virgin, and that ſhe did not ſo much fear death as ſhe abhorred the debauchery of his ſeraglio, and the poiſonous flattery of his promiſes. Mahomet tried all ways to ſeduce her, but in vain. They preſented her with fine cloaths and jewels in his name, but ſhe refuſed them with a noble diſdain. Mahomet, naturally more proud than ſenſual, enraged at her refuſal, changed his love into hatred, and in one of his furious fits cut off her head with his ſcymetar at one blow; thus fulfilling the wiſhes of that heroine, who by the ſacrifice of a ſhort tranſitory life, and a frail beauty, acquired immortal glory and felicity.

'TWOULD be a difficult task to deſcribe the cruelties exerciſed at the taking of Negrepont. The iſland was ſoon covered over with ſlaughter and horror; the Turkiſh ſoldiers, following the example, and acting under

under the eyes of their ſovereign, valued themſelves for their fury and extravagance. They were particularly careful not to give any quarter to the Latin Chriſtians; and the ſultan, enraged that he had found the gallies of the order in the Venetian fleet, ſent to Rhodes to denounce mortal war againſt them, ſwearing that he would kill the grand maſter with his own hand, and deſtroy all the knights that came within his power.

THESE menaces did not deter the order from continuing their generous ſuccours to the Venetians. The fleet of that republick was at that time commanded by the famous Mocenigo, who was placed in the room of the cowardly Canalé. The gallies of the order having joined him, they ſailed by concert to beſiege Attalia, a famous town on the coaſt of Pamphilia, called at preſent Satalia. The proveditor Sorano was immediately ordered to break the chain that ſhut up the port, which he executed with great courage and ſucceſs. The Chriſtian fleet entered the harbour, and afterwards ſacked the ſuburbs of the two incloſures with which the town was fortified. They carried the firſt; but the walls of the ſecond being too high for the ladders which they had prepared to ſcale them, and the general of the gallies of the order with ſeveral brave knights being killed in the attack, the Venetian general gave it over, notwithſtanding the cries of an old Chriſtian woman, a ſlave in Satalia, who called out to the Chriſtians from the wall, and told them the ſmall number and weakneſs of the beſieged. They ſay that ſhe was ſeized with ſo much grief at hearing the retreat ſounded, that ſhe threw herſelf head-long from the top of the rampart into the ditch, whence the Venetians took her, bruiſed to pieces with her fall, and gave her decent interment.

THE Chriſtians after this repulſe went to wreck their anger upon the open country; and after the uſual waſte and havock made in an enemy's territories, came to an anchor at Rhodes. There they found an embaſſador of Uſum-Caſſan, king of Perſia, called Azimamet,

who, beſides his ſervants, was accompanied with above an hundred Perſian gentlemen.

IN order to have a juſt notion of the negotiation on which he was ſent to the grand maſter and other Chriſtian princes, who were enemies to Mahomet, we muſt obſerve, that after the loſs of Negrepont, the Venetians had formed a ſtrong league againſt the Turk, into which pope Paul II. had entered, together with the king of Arragon, Ferdinand King of Naples, the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, and the republick of Florence. Beſides theſe ſuccours, the Venetians, in the view of raiſing up enemies againſt the ſultan on every ſide, had ſent an embaſſador, Catherini Zeno by name, into Perſia, to ſollicite Uſum-Caſſan to make a diverſion that might be ſtrong enough to ſtop the arms of an ambitious prince, who threatned to enſlave all the eaſt. There was no need of making that prince ſenſible of his own intereſts, and he had for a long time been uneaſy at the conqueſts of Mahomet. We have ſaid that he had already made a league with ſeveral chriſtian princes againſt the Turk; but the fatal diſcords of the confederates, and the impetuoſity of Mahomet, had till then always defeated the benefit of thoſe pompous alliances, which were more ſhewy than ſolid. However, he readily hearkened to the propoſals made him by the Venetian embaſſador.

ASSUN CASSAN, or Uzun-Haſſan, i. e. Uzun the long, ſo called from his great ſtature, was the ſixth prince of the Turcomans, of the dynaſty of Akconjonlu, or of the white ſheep. He began his conqueſts with uſurping the dominions of his brother Gehanghir whom he diſpatched, and the ſame year ſeized upon thoſe of Gehanſchah, a prince of the dynaſty of the black ſheep, whom he put to death with all his family: nor did he give better quarter to Abouſaid, grandſon to Tamerlane, from whom he took all Perſia.

THOUGH this prince was a profeſſed Muſulman, yet whether he had diſcovered the impoſture of that, or that the intereſt of his kingdom was his firſt principle

of

of religion, he made no ſcruple to enter into an alliance with the princes of Chriſtendom. He ſent his miniſter only to view the forces of his allies. The embaſſador was received by the grand maſter with all the honours and magnificence due to his character. They loaded him with civilities and preſents. The Perſian gentry that attended him, were every day entertained by the principal knights of the order; and to give him a good opinion of the forces of the league, they ſhewed him their naval and land forces one after another, drawn up in order of battle, and their manner of fighting in a real engagement.

AZIMAMET, in an audience which he had of the grand maſter and the principal captains of the league, told them, that the king his maſter had taken from Mahomet the ſtrong place of Torata in the leſſer Armenia; that he was preparing to carry on his conqueſts; that the Perſians were indeed invincible by their cavalry, which were the beſt in the world; that he did not want either men, or horſes, or lances, or ſabres; but that the uſe of fire arms was altogether unknown in his country, and that the king his maſter had ſent him with orders to deſire the Chriſtian princes to ſend him ſome skilful founders and able gunners to ſerve him againſt the Turks. This was promiſed him; and the grand maſter ſending a ſquadron of gallies to eſcort him, he was conducted to Venice, where the treaty was concluded; and at his return, the ſenate ſent an hundred officers of artillery, as alſo ſeveral excellent founders and gunſmiths along with him, who afterwards ſupplied the Perſian armies with a compleat train of artillery, and an infinite number of harquebuſſes or hand-guns.

'TWAS ſcarce poſſible for ſo pompous an embaſſy to be concealed from Mahomet. This prince ſoon gueſſed at the motives of it; and in order to make the negotiation miſcarry, he diſpatched an embaſſador to the king of Perſia, who was ordered to repreſent to him what a blemiſh it would be to his honour, to make an alliance with infidels againſt a prince of his own religion.

on. But the Perſian, who was not to be caught with ſuch ſcruples, paid but little regard to Mahomet's reproaches; but finding his intereſt in the league, perſiſted in it with vigour, nor could even ill ſucceſs diſengage him from it. Mahomet, exaſperated at the fixed reſolution of that prince, declared war againſt him, and went in perſon at the head of an army of 100000 men to attack him in the heart of his dominions.

BEFORE he ſet out from Conſtantinople he left prince Zizim, the youngeſt of his ſons, in that city, with a good council, to take care of the government, but as he paſſed through Amaſia, took Bajazet, a brother of that young prince, along with him; and Muſtapha, the eldeſt of them all, who commanded on the frontiers of Caramania, came to join him with the troops of his government. This young prince had the year before routed an army of Uſſun-Caſſan in a pitched battle. Mahomet, to improve this victory, and take advantage of the conſternation of the Perſians, advanced as far as the banks of the Euphrates. His deſign was to paſs that river, and advance forward into Perſia; but he ſaw Uſſun-Caſſan on the other ſide, who, attended by the three princes his ſons, and at the head of a great body of cavalry, conſiſting of 40000 horſe, was ready to diſpute the paſſage of it. Never was a more glorious ſtrife ſeen between two royal houſes. The Euphrates, oppoſite to the place where the two armies were poſted, divided itſelf into ſeveral branches; ſome of them were fordable. The Turks throw themſelves into the river to get to them, But the continual march of horſes putting the ſand in motion, the ford is turned into a whirlpool that ſwallows up every thing. To make the misfortune ſtill greater, ſuch as can get near the banks of the river find them cut deep and ſhelving by the precaution of the king of Perſia; ſo that ſpent with fatigue, and finding no ſure footing on the quick-ſands to fight on, they lie expoſed as a mark to the Perſian arrows, without being able to revenge their deaths. A great many are drowned, and others are carried away with the ſtreams. Above 12000 men

periſhed

periſhed in this enterprize; and the furious Mahomet, raging at his ill ſucceſs, is at laſt forced to ſound a retreat.

As the Perſians had carried off all the proviſions and forage of thoſe quarters, the Turks were obliged to make the beſt of their way to their own frontiers. The Perſian had done enough for glory, and could he have been content with this advantage, nothing had been wanting to compleat it. But perſuaded by the daring counſels of the young princes his ſons, he paſſed the Euphrates, and purſued his enemy, whom he found ſtrongly entrenched. They ſoon came to an engagement, both armies cloſe together, and the prince has as much his ſhare in the battle as the ſoldier. Victory changed ſides more than once; but Muſtapha, Mahomet's eldeſt ſon, at laſt fixed it on that of the ſultan. He routed a great body of Perſians commanded by prince Zeinel, Uſſun-Caſſan's ſon, who was killed at the ſame time. Whilſt Muſtapha was purſuing the run-aways, he ſent the Perſian prince's head to Mahomet, as an earneſt of the victory, which after the death of Zeinel, declared itſelf abſolutely againſt the Perſians: their whole army was diſperſed, and fled for life to the neighbouring mountains. In the midſt of Mahomet's joy for his glorious ſucceſs, news was brought him that they did not know what was become of prince Muſtapha. The ſultan on this occaſion felt all the tender emotions of a father, and was curſing the fatal victory, when the ſhouts of the ſoldiers gave him notice a little after of the young prince's return. In the firſt tranſports of his joy he runs with eagerneſs to meet him, and embraces him tenderly, covered over as he was with blood and duſt. He would even preſent him with a cup of ſorbec with his own hand; but Muſtapha found by agreeable experience on this occaſion, that of all refreſhments, none is more proper to wipe off the ſweat and fatigues of a battle than a victory juſt gained.

YET this young prince, the partner of the fatigues and glory of his father, the ſupport of the throne,

and

and the hopes of his ſubjects, in the midſt of all his triumphs, was within a year afterwards ſtruck as it were with a clap of thunder. Achmet Gedue, one of the principal baſhas of the porte, had a wife of extraordinary beauty. The young ſultan had the misfortune to meet her as ſhe was going to the bath; and notwithſtanding the ſevere injunction laid on the women of that nation of never appearing in public but in veils, ſhe yet could not reſiſt the ſecret pleaſure of letting him have a glimpſe of her face, in order to diſcover how amiable ſhe was. She let fall a corner of her veil, but took it up again immediately; and ſhewed herſelf with that reſerved air, only to make herſelf be viewed with more curioſity. The courtiers, a ſervile ſet of men, did not fail to applaud the criminal deſires of the young prince, who fancied himſelf above all laws, after having performed ſo many great actions in war. He follows her to the bath, makes his way in ſpite of the guards into a place forbidden to men; ſurprizes her in a circumſtance not over decent; and hurried away by his paſſion, obtains favours, in which perhaps he did not meet with much reſiſtance. Achmet is ſoon informed of it, and enraged at the inſult, runs to the ſeraglio, throws himſelf at Mahomet's feet, tears his beard, his veſt and turbant, and by his cries and tears gives the ſultan to underſtand his wife's, or rather his own misfortune. Mahomet began already to be uneaſy at the proud and haughty temper of his ſon; however, not to degrade himſelf ſo much as to blame this outrage before one of his ſubjects, he diſſembles his reſentment, and looking upon the baſha with an air of contempt, "Are not, ſays he to him, thy wife and thee, both "my ſlaves, and too much honoured with contribut-"ing to the ſatisfaction of my children?" He diſmiſſed him with this rough anſwer, but ſent at the ſame time for Muſtapha, and with that air, at which the greateſt of his court would tremble, made him the moſt cruel reproaches, bid him be gone from his preſence; and hearing that the young prince expreſs the utmoſt indignation at his going out of the ſeraglio, and mur-

mured

mured at ſo harſh a treatment, he ſent orders three days after to have him ſtrangled. Notwithſtanding there was an interval of two years between theſe ſeveral incidents, I have nevertheleſs related them together, by reaſon of the connexion there is between them, and for the convenience of the reader.

THE order of time ſhould make us reſume the narration in that part which relates to the league between the Perſian monarch and the grand maſter, and the other Chriſtian princes; but as that affair does not come directly within the ſubject of our hiſtory, we ſhall only obſerve, that the war between the two mighty princes, who diſputed for the empire of Aſia, laſted for ſeveral years, and ſuſpended the enterprize that Mahomet had formed againſt Rhodes. The grand maſter, during this interval, renewed his precautions for the preſervation of the place and the whole iſland. By his orders, with the concurrence of the council, ſome ancient knights were ſent to viſit all the places and iſles that belonged to the order. 'Twas at this time that he held a general chapter at Rhodes, which is the ſureſt reſource for the maintenance or re-eſtabliſhment of the regular diſcipline. 'Twas in theſe numerous aſſemblies that proper meaſures were taken, and that without diſtinction of perſons, or deference to any body, for the reformation of manners; and we may affirm, that had it not been for the frequent meetings of their chapters, the order could never, in the midſt of the confuſion and hurry of war, have ſo long preſerved itſelf in the firſt ſpirit of piety and diſintereſtedneſs which diſtinguiſhed it as much as its courage and extraordinary valour.

THOUGH the power of ſo many ſovereigns as had entered into the league, kept Mahomet in ſome awe, yet that prince had ſuch numerous armies on foot, that the knights were continually on their guard for fear of being ſurpriſed. They added more new fortifications to the old ones, and built two towers cloſe by the ſea on that ſide that lies towards Limonia, and a third facing the village of St. Martha. The commander d'Auuſſon,

buſſon, made grand prior of Auvergne after the death of the chevalier Cottet, carried on thoſe works with an attention worthy of his zeal and capacity; nothing eſcaped his diligence. The grand maſter and the order were as attentive to his advices as if they had been ſo many laws. He was as it were, the ſoul and primum mobile of the council, and was generally the only perſon made uſe of to execute the projects he himſelf had formed. All affairs, whether relating to war, to the revenue, or to the fortifications, paſſed through his hands. He was continually ſurrounded with warriors, artificers and workmen, without being embaraſſed either with the number or diverſity of affairs. His zeal for the ſervice of the order, and the extent and quickneſs of his genius, made him equal to all theſe different employments.

THE grand maſter being very old, and alwas infirm, had great need of ſuch an aſſiſtant: he had been in a languiſhing condition for near a year together, when a dropſy at laſt carried him off. He died June 8. 1476, when they proceeded to the choice of a ſucceſſor. Brother Raimond de Ricard, grand prior of St. Giles, who was in the precedent election a competitor with the laſt grand maſter, was choſen to preſide at that of his ſucceſſor; and it was he who, after the uſual ceremonies, notified to the aſſembly, that all the votes of the electors center'd unanimouſly in the perſon of brother PETER D'AUBUSSON, grand prior of Auvergne, deſcended from the antient viſcounts of la Marche, and of one of the moſt illuſtrious houſes in France. It may be ſaid, that even before his election to the grand maſterſhip, he was already their chief in the good wiſhes of all the knights, as well as thoſe of the people, who, upon the firſt news of it, made bonefires, and gave public teſtimonies of that unfeigned and ſincere joy which flows from the heart, and which politicks and ſlavery can never counterfeit. So happy a choice inſpired the moſt timorous with bravery, and they were no longer afraid of Mahomet, when they

PETER D'AUBUSSON.

they ſaw d'Aubuſſon at the head of affairs, with the reins of government in his hands.

HIS conduct fully anſwered the favourable opinion they had conceived of him, and he employed his authority for the execution of all thoſe projects which he had before propoſed only as a ſimple member of the council. By his orders they made a great iron chain that ſerved to bar up the entrance of the port; and to prevent the deſcents and ravages of pyrates in other places of the iſland, he encreaſed the number of the towers and forts that had been built along the coaſt, and at certain diſtances from one another. He did not confine his views and cares to the preſervation of the iſle of Rhodes alone: he ſent ſtrong re-inforcements into the other iſles belonging to the order; and from the ſame zeal and attention, he ſent engineers to the caſtle of St. Peter, who, purſuant to the memoirs and plan that he delivered to them, hollowed the ditch to ſuch a depth, that the ſea-water flowed into it, and the feluccas and brigantines of the order entered there without difficulty, and lay ſecured from the Turks and Corſairs. Whilſt this worthy ſovereign of the iſle of Rhodes was thus taken up entirely with its defence, Michael Salomon, envoy of Loredan, general of the Venetians, arrived in the iſland, with orders to reclaim a Cypriot, called Riccio Marini, one of the moſt zealous ſervants of Charlotte de Luſignan.

WE have already taken notice, that the crown of Cyprus, after continuing near three hundred years in the houſe of Luſignan, was uſurped from Charlotte de Luſignan by her baſtard brother; that the uſurper, to make ſure of the protection of the Venetians, had uſed ſolicitations to get a daughter of the family of Cornaro in marriage, and that the ſenate, to create themſelves a right, or rather ſome pretenſions to the kingdom, had granted her to him, and had given her a portion as a daughter of St. Mark. 'Tis ſaid, that to come at this ſucceſſion the ſooner, the baſtard was made away by poiſon: and a little child that he left ſucking at the breaſt did not ſurvive him long. The Venetians, under pre-

tence of protectorſhip, ſent powerful ſuccours into the iſland, which they ſoon conquered in the name of the baſtard's widow, to whom they left nothing of queen but the bare name, and ſome inſignificant ornaments only.

NEVERTHELESS, Charlotte de Luſignan, the only and rightful heireſs of the crown, had always ſome ſecret adherents within the kingdom. Several ſchemes were formed to drive out the Venetians, but they miſcarried by reaſon of the experience and forces of the captains of that republic. The chiefs of queen Charlotte's party were obliged to quit the iſle. Every body fled for refuge where he thought he could find protection, and live in the greateſt ſecurity. Riccio Marini, one of thoſe chiefs, had retired to Rhodes. This was the occaſion of Salomon's embaſſy; he came to demand him back of the grand maſter, as a ſeditious perſon and a rebel; preſenting him at the ſame time, in the doge's name, a letter full of menaces: and Loredan's envoy, added with no little arrogance, that as the moſt ſerene republic had adopted Catherine Cornaro, ſhe would conſider all thoſe as her enemies as ſhould favour the partiſans of Charlotte de Luſignan.

THEY were not uſed at Rhodes to hear embaſſadors ſpeak with ſo much arrogance. Beſides the continual ſervices which the order was doing to the republic, the knights of Rhodes did not think themſelves inferior either in dignity or in forces to the gentlemen of Venice; and ſome of the moſt high ſpirited of this noble body of knights were for ſending back Loredan's agent without an anſwer.

IF the grand maſter had given way to thoſe firſt emotions of a ſecret inclination, which had attached him formerly to the perſon and intereſts of Charlotte de Luſignan, he would have anſwered the Venetian general's envoy with the ſame haughtineſs, and with a courage which were both ſo natural to him. But what might in a private knight be conſidered as generoſity, was not at all proper for a ſovereign, who ought to ſhape his conduct entirely to the intereſt of his ſtate:

ſo that the grand maſter, in order not to bring new enemies upon his back, when he was expecting to have all the forces of Mahomet fall upon the iſle of Rhodes, qualified his anſwer in ſuch a manner, that without either granting any thing to the envoy of the Venetians, or incenſing them by high words, he took care to maintain equally the rights of his dignity, and the liberty of his territories. He told him, that the order, purſuant to its ſtatutes, never intermeddled in the differences and wars that aroſe between Chriſtian princes; that he required him to tell his general, that at Rhodes they neither received ſeditious perſons or rebels; but, as was practiſed in every free and independent country, they likeways did not drive away ſuch whoſe private misfortunes obliged them to take refuge there, and who behaved like men of honour and good Chriſtians. With this anſwer he diſmiſſed the miniſter.

SCARCE was this envoy gone from Rhodes when another arrived, ſent by the ſoubachi or lieutenant to the governor of Lycia, a province in the neighbourhood, as we have ſaid, of the iſle of Rhodes. That inſolent commander, whoſe cruelty had no reſtraint but what aroſe from his natural avarice, had actually a great many Chriſtians and ſubjects of the order in his priſons: and as he loſt ſome or other of them every day by the ſeverity and miſeries of the ſlavery they endured, he reſolved, contrary to the cuſtom of his nation, to treat for their liberty. There were however ſuſpicions, that this envoy's voyage was only a pretext invented by Mahomet to get an opportunity for a perſon to view the fortifications of Rhodes. Nevertheleſs, as the grand maſter had nothing more at heart than the liberty of his brother knights, he readily entered into a negotiation: this was the occaſion of ſeveral voyages that the envoy made to Rhodes.

THE grand maſter, eager to recover thoſe knights, and deſirous at the ſame time to put an end to ſuch voyages, ſmoothed every difficulty. Beſides the ſums neceſſary for the ranſom of the ſlaves, which he furniſh-

niſhed out of his own purſe, he alſo ſent noble preſents to the ſoubachi; and when the negotiator brought the knights back, his recompence was not forgot. The grand maſter embraced them one after another. Never did a tender mother, who after a long abſence ſees her only ſon in her arms again, diſcover more ſenſible demonſtrations of joy. The knights on their ſide kiſſed his hands, bathed them with their tears, embraced his feet, and by thoſe mute tranſports, which nevertheleſs affect the heart in the moſt ſenſible manner, endeavoured to expreſs their acknowledgments. They called him their father and their ſaviour. The grand maſter declined theſe titles with great modeſty. "'Tis to the "order, my children, ſaid he to them, that you owe "theſe expreſſions of your acknowledgment; and I "hope you will make it an ample return, by exerting "your ordinary valour againſt the enterpriſes of Ma-"homet, who daily threatens us with a ſiege."

He had received advices to this purpoſe from ſeveral quarters. The order never had before a grand maſter who laid out ſuch conſiderable ſums, or employed them out ſo uſefully in ſpies. He kept ſome even within the very walls of the ſeraglio. By advices from them he learned, that the Venetians were, without the knowledge of their allies, negotiating ſecretly a ſeparate peace with the porte. He knew likeways from public accounts, that the king of Perſia, Uſſan-Caſſan, the moſt potent of Mahomet's enemies, being worn out with years and the fatigues of war, ſtood now only on the defenſive, without enterpriſing any thing againſt the Turks. He ſaw that the Chriſtian princes, according to their conſtant cuſtom, were tearing one another to pieces; and that Matthias Corvinus king of Hungary was making a bloody war againſt the emperor Frederic: from whence he concluded, that Mahomet would take advantage of theſe diviſions, and infallibly turn his arms the next year againſt the iſle of Rhodes.

THE grand maſter, in order not to be taken unprepared, ſtored the magazines with ammunition and

proviſions; and the iſle of Rhodes not having a ſufficient number of knights for its defence, he called a general chapter, and in the ſummons directed to the grand priors, he ordered all the knights to repair immediately to Rhodes with their arms, and in an equipage ſuitable to their profeſſion. We find a copy of this ſummons in Italian in Bofio's hiſtory; the original is ſtill preſerved in the archives of Malta and we believe the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee an extract of it in this place.

MY DEAREST BRETHREN,

"IN the midſt of the greateſt dangers with which "Rhodes is threatened, we have thought that no ſuc-"cour was more to be depended on than a general "ſummons, and a ſpeedy aſſembly of all our brethren. "The enemy is at our gates; the proud Mahomet ſets "no bounds to his ambitious projects; his power be-"comes more formidable every day: he has an innu-"merable multitude of ſoldiers, excellent captains, "and immenſe treaſures: all this is deſigned againſt "us; he is bent upon our deſtruction; I have the "moſt certain advices of it. His troops are already "in motion; the neighbouring provinces are filled "with them; they are all filing down towards Caria "and Lycia: a prodigious number of veſſels and gal-"lies wait only for the ſpring, and the return of fine "weather, to paſs into our iſland. What do we wait "for? Can you be inſenſible that foreign ſuccours, "which are generally very weak, and always uncer-"tain, are at a diſtance from us? We have no reſource "but in our own valour, and we are ruined if we do "not ſave ourſelves. The ſolemn vows that ye have "made, my brethren, oblige you to quit all, to obey "our orders. 'Tis in virtue of thoſe holy promiſes, "made to the God of heaven before his altar, that I "now ſummon you. Return without loſing a mo-"ment into our dominions, or rather into your own; "haſten with equal zeal and courage to the ſuccour

" of the order. 'Tis your mother that calls to you ;
" 'tis a tender mother that has nurſed and brought you
" up in her boſom that is now in danger. Is it poſ-
" ſible there ſhould be found one ſingle knight unna-
" tural enough to abandon her to the fury of the bar-
" barians ? No, my brethren, I have no apprehenſi-
" ons of that kind. Sentiments ſo mean and impious
" are not at all agreeable to the nobleneſs of your ex-
" traction, and are ſtill more inconſiſtent with the pi-
" ety and valour that you profeſs."

THIS ſummons, diſperſed over all Europe, raiſed the zeal and ardour of the knights. They all ſet eagerly about preparing their equipages. To raiſe money with the greater expedition, they ſell their houſhold goods; they let and farm out their commandries at low rates; every one takes meaſures for his ſetting out, and his paſſage: and the thing they all ſtand moſt in fear of is, of their not arriving ſoon enough at Rhodes. Some ſovereigns, edified with their zeal, ſent ſeveral kinds of ſuccour thither. The moſt conſiderable came from France. Lewis XI. who was then on the throne, prevailed with pope Sixtus IV. to grant a jubilee and indulgences to all perſons who ſhould aſſiſt the knights. This jubilee raiſed conſiderable ſums in a very ſhort time, which were remitted immediately into the eaſt, and were, by the grand maſter's orders, employed in raiſing ſome new fortifications which he thought proper to make about the caſtle and bulwarks of the city of Rhodes.

MAHOMET heard with no little uneaſineſs, that they had penetrated into his deſigns; and to hinder this diſcovery from putting the Chriſtian princes in motion, and producing at laſt ſome formidable league againſt him, he tried, under colour of a negotiation of peace with the grand maſter, and by an embaſſy that ſhould make a noiſe in the world, to cool the zeal of thoſe who were preparing to take arms. But as he was the proudeſt of all men living, he would not expoſe himſelf to a refuſal from the knights, and therefore gave that commiſſion

miſſion to prince Zem or Zizim one of his children, and Cheleby his nephew, whoſe governments lay near Rhodes, ordering them to employ in this negotiation a renegado Greek, Demetrius Sophian by name, being a perſon of whoſe addreſs and capacity he was thoroughly ſatisfied.

THE two Turkiſh princes, purſuant to the orders they had received from the grand ſeignior, ſent d'Aubuſſon a letter, full of expreſſions of eſteem for his perſon, and for all the knights of his order. It was even ſtuffed with a ſet of flattering compliments, a ſtile very ſeldom uſed by thoſe barbarians; and the princes concluded it with inviting him to make a ſolid peace with his highneſs, for which they offered their mediation and credit at the porte.

THE renegado Greek was entruſted with this letter and the negotiation, the ſecret of which, as they pretend, was confided to him only, and that even the two young princes themſelves knew nothing of it. He came to Rhodes, preſented his credentials to the grand maſter, and when they were entering upon the negotiation, he repreſented, that the only thing the grand ſeignior inſiſted on, in order to make a ſolid and laſting peace between them, was a ſmall tribute. To engage him to come into it the more readily, he urged farther, that the ſenate of Venice, to obtain the like treaty, had made no difficulty to oblige themſelves to ſend eight thouſand ducats of gold every year to the porte; but that he ſhould get off at a much cheaper rate, though, ſays he, there is no paying too dear for the friendſhip of ſo potent a prince that makes all others tremble.

THE grand-maſter had already received advice of the renegado's embaſſy from the ſpies that he kept in Conſtantinople, and alſo that the deſign of it was only to lull him into a ſecurity, and ſurpriſe him: ſo that to make his own advantage of it, and employ againſt Mahumet the very artifice he made uſe of to deceive him, he very prudently diſſembled his knowledge of it. He even ſhewed an entire confidence in the embaſſador's

word,

word, and told him, that he ſhould be greatly pleaſed if he could come to a ſolid peace with the grand ſeignior; but added, that his order being under the particular protection of the ſovereign pontiff of the Chriſtians, and poſſeſſed of great eſtates in the dominions of moſt of the princes of Europe, he could conclude nothing without their participation: however, he did not believe that they would oppoſe a treaty which would eſtabliſh a ſolid peace between the two powers; that he was likewiſe perſuaded the council of the order would readily come into it; but in order to obtain the conſent of the knights, there muſt not be any mention made of a tribute, the very name of which was odious to them: that he was nevertheleſs going to write about it immediately to Rome, and to diſpatch embaſſadors into all the courts of Chriſtendom, and deſired only three months time to receive anſwers from thence.

THE grand maſter, who was a perſon of excellent abilities, was deſirous to obtain time enough, and a free paſſage for the knights, who were at a diſtance, to repair to Rhodes; and therefore added, with a ſpecious ſincerity, that in the favourable diſpoſition in which the grand ſeignior ſeemed of treating in good earneſt with the order, he fancied it would be for both their intereſts, and alſo prevent their exaſperating one another by any new enterpriſes, to make a ſuſpenſion of arms, and reſtore a liberty of commerce between their ſubjects, at leaſt for the three months which he demanded for the obtaining of anſwers from Europe.

THE grand maſter, after this conference, and not to keep a renegado, whom he looked upon as a ſpy, any longer in Rhodes, diſmiſſed him, giving him a letter for the two young Ottoman princes, wherein, after anſwering their civilities with all the politeneſs that was proper for him to make uſe of, he added, agreeably to what he had told their embaſſador, that he could not conclude a treaty of that importance without the participation of the pope, and moſt of the princes of Chriſtendom.

The embaſſador, upon his return, gave the two Ottoman princes an account of his negotiation. To

told them, that he found the grand maſter would willingly treat of peace, but made them ſenſible withal, that that prince would never conſent to the payment of any tribute, and that he would be diſowned by his own order if he ſhould conſent to it. The two princes, who thought they ſhould make their court to Mahomet by forwarding the negotiation, and indeed acted in it *bona fide*, ſent the embaſſador back with orders to alter the name of tribute to that of a preſent, the worth and value of which ſhould be ſettled by the knights themſelves. They gave him commiſſion at the ſame time to conclude a ſuſpenſion of arms for the time the grand maſter inſiſted on. D'Aubuſſon being well informed, that their only deſign was to amuſe him by theſe different propoſals, was very firm in rejecting the condition of a preſent, and of every thing that had the air of a tribute; and demanded only the neceſſary time to learn the intentions of the pope and the Chriſtian princes, in hopes of getting ſuccours from Europe. The Greek, not able to get any more, concluded, in order to keep the negotiation ſtill on foot, the ſuſpenſion of arms and liberty of commerce with him, which was afterwards confirmed by a ſecond embaſſador ſent to Rhodes by Mahomet himſelf.

THOUGH this prince, preſuming upon his forces, uſually carried on his enterpriſes with an air of pomp and haughtineſs, he nevertheleſs thought proper on this occaſion to make uſe of ſuch artifices, and this negotiation, in order that the news of it might paſs over into Europe, and that the noiſe of an approaching peace, which his emiſſaries took care to ſpread abroad, might cool the zeal of the Chriſtian princes, and abate the eagerneſs of the knights: this was the end he propoſed by all his inſidious conduct. The grand maſter on his ſide appeared indeed ready to hear his propoſals, but did it only with a view of facilitating the paſſage of the knights, and to gain time to carry on other treaties that were full as important, and more to be depended on, and which were at that time actually negotiating at Rhodes.

THERE

THERE was in this city an envoy of the ſoldan of Egypt, Douan Diodar by name, and who at the ſame time was his favourite: he was come to renew the antient treaties of peace with the knights. The reader may have obſerved in the courſe of this hiſtory, that the order of St. John, from its firſt foundation, had had two ſorts of enemies to oppoſe, both of them Mahometans, and equally formidable. The firſt were the Arabians or Sarazens of Egypt, who had taken from the Chriſtians, as has been ſeen, Paleſtine, Phœnicia, and part of Syria. The Turks of the Ottoman race, ever ſince the conqueſt of Rhodes by the knights, became likewiſe their profeſſed enemies: and ſometimes theſe two ſorts of enemies, though jealous of one another, had joined their forces againſt a military order, which with its fleets and gallies diſturbed the commerce of their merchants, and the enterpriſes of their corſairs. But the forces of the order not being ſufficient to reſiſt both theſe potentates at the ſame time, the grand maſters and the council had always carefully endeavoured to be at peace with one nation, whenever they were in war with the other; by this wiſe policy balancing their power and keeping their forces divided.

THE report that Rhodes was threatned with a ſiege being carried into Egypt, made the ſoldan fear leſt Mahomet ſhould ſucceed in his enterpriſe. Were he to have choſen his neighbours, he had rather have the weaker; and therefore to leave the knights under no manner of apprehenſions from his quarter, he had ſent his favourite to Rhodes, in order to renew the laſt treaties of peace with them. The grand maſter received the firſt overtures thereof with the more pleaſure, in that he plainly ſaw the ſoldan's own intereſt would be ſufficient to make the new treaty laſting.

THUS they entered upon buſineſs with a mutual confidence; and after ſome conferences, they agreed, that the veſſels of the order ſhould not for the future moleſt thoſe of Egypt in their commerce, and that the knights ſhould not ſuffer their ſubjects to ſerve for ſoldiers, pilots or guides to the ſoldan's enemies. The

ſoldan

ſoldan, by a reciprocal ſtipulation, engaged to undertake nothing contrary to the intereſts of the grand maſter, and promiſed, that the veſſels of the order ſhould be well received in his ports; that if they were purſued by their enemies, the Sarazens ſhould be bound to defend them; that when the ſubjects of the grand maſter ſhould paſs through the ſoldan's territories in their way to the holy land, they ſhould not exact any duty from them; that they ſhould not detain any Chriſtian ſlave after he was ſet at liberty by his maſter or patron; and that with regard to other Chriſtian ſlaves, they ſhould be exchanged for Sarazens who were in ſlavery at Rhodes, by a Sarazen for a Chriſtian.

THE grand maſter made a treaty with the king of Tunis, another Mahometan prince, almoſt on the ſame conditions, with this addition only, that the order might, whenever it had occaſion, take up in his dominions thirty thouſand * hogſheads of corn, without paying any duty of tranſportation or exportation.

DURING theſe ſeveral negotiations, a great number of knights from all parts of Chriſtendom arrived at Rhodes; but as they were ſtill expecting a greater number, the chapter was prorogued till the 28th of October, when the grand maſter opened it. "Generous knights, ſays he to them, an occaſion has at laſt "preſented itſelf for you to ſhow your zeal and cour- "age againſt the enemies of the faith. In this holy "war, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf will be your leader; he "will never, my brethren, abandon ſuch as fight in "his ſervice. In vain does Mahomet, that impious "prince, who acknowledges no deity but his own "power, brag that he will extirpate our order. If "he hath more numerous troops than we, they are "compoſed only of a vile ſet of ſlaves, whom they are "forced to drag into dangers, and that expoſe themſelves to death only to avoid a death which they are "threatened

* The original is thirty thouſand muids, each of which is about five quarters, or a comb and a buſhel.

" threatned with by their officers : whereas I ſee none " in your illuſtrious body but gentlemen of noble birth, " educated in virtue, reſolute either to vanquiſh or die " and whoſe piety and valour are certain pledges of " victory."

THE knights that compoſed the aſſembly, made no other anſwer to this moving diſcourſe, than by declaring their reſolution to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in defence of the order ; and that the ſervice might not ſuffer, or be retarded through the diverſity of the commanding officers, and the ſlowneſs of counſels, the whole chapter begged of the grand maſter to take upon himſelf alone the command of the forces, and adminiſtration of the revenue, and to exerciſe both with an abſolute authority. This was a ſort of dictatorſhip which they thought fit to inveſt him with, till ſuch time as the ſtorm which Mahomet threatned the order with was blown over. The grand maſter would fain have declined ſo vaſt and unuſual a power out of modeſty, and repreſented to them, that thoſe different employments would be better filled, if divided between ſeveral knights : but the whole chapter had ſo entire a confidence in his capacity, and the zeal he had ſhewn for the good of the order, and made him ſuch preſſing inſtances to accept it, that he found himſelf unable to reſiſt them.

THE firſt uſe he made of it was to name four general officers, whom they called at that time auxiliary captains, or adjutant generals, who were each of them to command in the quarter aſſigned them. He choſe for theſe ſeveral employments, the hoſpitaller, the admiral, the chancellor and the treaſurer of the order ; and the chevalier Rodolph de Wartemberg, grand prior of Brandenburg, was choſe general of the horſe : the grand maſter at the head of theſe prime officers was every day viſiting the fortifications and outworks of the place.

BY his orders they pulled down all the country houſes that ſtood too near it : they cut down the trees, and even demoliſhed the churches of St Anthony and

Notre

Notre Dame of Philerme, which would have been ſerviceable to the enemy in the ſiege. The Rhodians could not ſee their country houſes, and the delicious gardens that lay all round the town deſtroyed, without feeling a ſenſible concern; but the publick ſafety prevailed over all other conſiderations, ſo that nothing was ſpared; but before they deſtroyed the church of our lady of Philerme, they removed thence an image of the virgin, which had been kept there from time immemorial, to whom they paid a religious worſhip, and carried it to the principal church of the city.

THE grand maſter, to leave no forage or paſture for the enemies cavalry, cauſed all the corn of the country to be cut down, and aſſigned the peaſants of each quarter particular forts, to which, upon the arrival of the infidels, they might reſpectively retire. The ſame genius for providing againſt every thing that might happen, made him, as he ſurveyed the ſea-ſhore, examine together with his officers the places from whence they might beſt oppoſe the deſcents of the enemy; thoſe where it would be moſt proper for them to entrench themſelves, if they ſhould happen to be too hard preſſed; the cuts and intrenchments they might be obliged to make behind the walls, if they ſhould be beaten down by the force of the artillery. His views were too extenſive and too juſt to overlook any thing: the fortifications, artillery, arms, proviſions, and revenue, every thing paſſed under his inſpection, and his care extended to the meaneſt of the inhabitants, to provide for their ſubſiſtence as well as for that of the knights and troops which compoſed the garriſon.

HAPPILY for his aſſiſtance in diſpatching ſo great a variety of buſineſs, that beſides a great number of knights of all nations already arrived at Rhodes, there alſo came thither Bertrand de Gluys grand prior of France, Charles de Montholon, and ſeveral other knights of the three languages of that kingdom. They were ſoon followed by brother John Daw great bailiff of Germany, who arrived at Rhodes with a good number of commanders and knights of his nation, and a

body of troops which was more considerable for the choice and valour of the soldiers of which it was composed, than their number. Some noblemen and gentlemen of France, upon the first news they had of Rhodes being threatened with a siege, hasted hither, out of a pure principle of generosity, with a train of attendants suitable to their quality: In the list of these noble warriors are reckon'd Anthony d'Aubusson, vicomte de Monteil, the grand master's elder brother. These lords descended by their father's side in the male line from Raimond seignior of Monteil-au-vicomte and la Feuillade, second son of Renaud the seventh of the name, vicomte d'Aubusson, whose grand-father in the eighth degree of ascent was Renaud d'Aubusson the first of that name, and elder brother of Turpin d'Aubusson, who, in consideration of his piety and his noble extraction, was elected bishop of Limoges in the year 898, as Aimar de Chabanois relates in his chronicle. His mother was of the house of Combron, a most illustrious and very powerful family, and allied to several sovereign princes.

THE vicomte d'Aubusson was accompanied by Lewis de Craon, a nobleman of one of the first families of Anjou, and by Benedict Scaliger or della Scala, whose ancestors had been sovereigns of Verona: and this lord brought several companies of foot with him from Italy at his own expence to the assistance of the order. Among these brave adventurers were likewise Lewis Sanguin of Paris, Claude Colomb of Bourdeaux, Matthew Brangelier of Perigord, and Charles le Roi of Dijon. The grand master, at the request of all the council, gave the general direction of military affairs to the vicomte de Monteil, and assigned particular quarters for the other volunteers to defend. An heroick emulation soon rose up and prevailed between these secular knights, and the knights of the order; and the same emulation broke out between the Greek and Latin inhabitants, and passed afterwards to the very women and children, who vied with one another in working at the intrench-

trenchments which the grand maſter had ordered to be made.

THESE knights and gallant volunteers, inflamed with a deſire of meeting with an opportunity to ſignalize themſelves, expected the arrival of the infidels with impatience; but they did not wait for them long. Mahomet grew weary of diſſembling and acting a part ſo contrary to his natural pride. He gave over feigning, and declared openly the deſign he had formed of attacking the iſle of Rhodes, the conqueſt whereof he looked upon as a foundation for that of all Aſia, which his ambition graſped after, as what would give the finiſhing ſtroke to his glory.

HE was ſtrongly confirmed in this deſign by the grand vizier, or firſt baſha, as he was ſtiled at that time, called Miſach Paleologus. This vizier was a Greek prince of the imperial family, born a Chriſtian, but who upon the taking of Conſtantinople had turned Mahometan to prevent his being put to death, a puniſhment which Mahomet inflicted on all the heirs of the empire. His valour, his ſervices, his addreſs, and his entire complaiſance for all the ſultan's inclinations and humours raiſed him afterwards to the dignity of vizier; and that that prince might not have the leaſt ſuſpicion becauſe of his having changed his religion, he affected to ſhew himſelf an implacable enemy to all Chriſtian princes, and eſpecially to the grand maſter and the knights of Rhodes.

IN order to facilitate his maſter's conqueſt of that iſland, he brought to his court three famous renegadoes who had drawn the plan of it. The firſt, Anthony Mcligalle by name, was of the city of Rhodes itſelf, and of a noble family; but having ſpent his patrimony and the inheritance of his fathers in luxury and debauchery, he flattered himſelf, as his laſt thift, with the hopes of getting ſome advantages by the change of his religion. The ſecond was Demetrius Sophian, the ſame that Mahomet employed to carry ſultan Zizim's letters to Rhodes; a man of parts, and very fit for negotiations, but ſuſpected of dealing in magick, and of applying

himſelf to the ſearch of thoſe parts of knowledge which ſome whimſical people call the occult ſciences. The third of theſe renegadoes was a German engineer, called George Frapan by name, but commonly called maſter George; a man of parts, a good geometrician, and particularly diſtinguiſhed by his talents in the management of the artillery. Mahomet, who ſpared for nothing to engage ſuch men in his ſervice as might be uſeful to him, gave him a conſiderable penſion. The German had by his order ſurveyed moſt of the Chriſtian ſtrong places, upon which the ſultan could have any deſign; had drawn plans of them; and among other things had brought him a very exact one of the city of Rhodes and the adjacent parts.

THE baſha, to flatter the inclinations of the ſultan, ſpake to him of theſe three renegadoes as of perſons very proper to give ſucceſs to his deſigns. Mahomet ſent for them; when upon their being introduced into his preſence, they, in order to make themſelves more agreeable, in concert with the miniſter, told him, that the greateſt part of the walls of Rhodes were falling down; that there was a great ſcarcity of ammunition in the place, and that the pretended ſuccours from Europe, with the hopes of which the knights flattered themſelves, were very uncertain, by reaſon of the continual wars between the Chriſtian princes. Each of the three renegadoes preſented him with a plan of the city of Rhodes: that of the German was found to be the moſt regular; and it was upon this plan that the ſultan regulated the order of the attacks, and every thing that was to be executed in order to ſucceed in ſo important an enterpriſe.

THE ſultan, hurried away by his impatience, would needs have the baſha ſet out, and without waiting for the great army, go in perſon to reconnoitre the place. Upon which he commanded him to embark forthwith aboard ſome light frigates and veſſels of low decks, with ſome companies of janizaries and ſpahis. He was followed by the three renegadoes to whom that prince promiſed a noble reward, provided they could but contribute

tribute to make him maſter of Rhodes. In their paſſage the Rhodian Meligalle, who had been infirm for a long time, was ſeized with a loathſome illneſs: his fleſh was covered all over with ulcers, and fell off piece-meal; and before he expired, he was in a manner buried in rottenneſs and corruption.

In the mean time the baſha Paleologus was ſailing on, and ſoon appeared in ſight of the iſle of Rhodes, and on the fourth of December came to an anchor off the fortreſs of Fano. He immediately landed ſome companies of ſpahi to reconnoitre, purſuant to his inſtructions, and ſee if he could make a deſcent in that place himſelf. The bailiff of Brandenburgh who commanded the light horſe of the order, ſuffered theſe ſcouts, who were very thirſty of plunder, to advance up into the country, where he fell upon them, killed part of them, drove the reſt before him to the ſea ſide, and forced them to re-imbark. The baſha, after having taken them on board, put off to ſea; and that he might not lie idle with his maſter's troops, whilſt he waited for the coming up of the great fleet, he endeavoured at a deſcent on the iſle of Tilo which belonged to the order. The inhabitants of the open country took refuge in the fortreſs, where there was a ſtrong garriſon, conſiſting chiefly of knights.

PALEOLOGUS battered the place with all his artillery for eight days together; the breach appearing practicable, he ordered the ſpahi to alight, and led them on himſelf to the aſſault. He flattered himſelf that he ſhould carry the caſtle in a moment; but he had not yet tried the valour of the defendants. The knights that were in it made ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that the baſha, after ſeeing the braveſt of his men drop at the foot of the walls, was obliged to ſound a retreat. He ſaw plainly, from the courage of the beſieged, that if he ſhould perſiſt in his obſtinacy of carrying on the ſiege, he would be obliged to begin it in form with opening trenches, and proceed in the ordinary rules of war. But not having a body of troops ſufficient for ſuch an enterpriſe, and the weather not being favourable, he raiſed the ſiege

with greater ſhame than loſs, re-imbarked a ſecond time, and arrived at the port of Phiſco in Lycia, ſituated twenty two, others ſay eighteen miles from Rhodes. This was the rendezvous as well for the main fleet as for the land forces, which were quartered in that and the adjoining provinces till the return of the ſpring.

'TWAS not till the latter end of April that the main fleet of the Infidels ſet ſail from Gallipoli, paſſed the Helleſpont, entered the river of Lycia, and came in ſight of the iſle of Rhodes. The guard poſted on the top of mount St. Stephen made the ſignal to give notice that it was in ſight. The grand maſter haſtened thither immediately with the principal ſea officers, who judged by its working that it was going to the port of Phiſco, there to take on board the troops that were in the adjacent parts. The event ſhewed that his conjecture was juſt and well founded, for 'twas in this port that the embarkation was made. They reckoned in this fleet an hundred and ſixty veſſels with high decks, beſides feluccas, galiots, flat-bottomed veſſels and tranſports: and ſpake of the land forces as making at leaſt an hundred thouſand men. This formidable armado arrived at laſt before Rhodes, on May 23. 1480.

WE have already taken notice of the ſituation of this iſland, on occaſion of the conqueſt which the knights made of it under the maſterſhip of Fulk de Villaret: ſo that to give a clear notion of what follows, we need only remark, that the capital of the iſle, which bears the ſame name, is ſituated by the ſea ſide, upon the ſide of a hill, which at that time was planted with orange-trees, pomegranates, excellent muſcadine grapes, and vines of various ſorts. The place had a double wall about it, and was fortified with great towers at proper diſtances. Theſe walls and towers were ſuſtained on the inſide of the town by a rampart, and on the outſide there was a very broad and deep ditch. There were two ports belonging to it, of which the firſt that we meet with in coming to land there, ſerved to ſecure the gallies, and the mouth of it was defended by a platform, upon which there was a tower look-

ing to the eaſt, and called Fort St. Elme. The great ſhips lay in the other port, which was fortified with two towers; the one called the tower of St. John, and the other St. Michael's tower. They pretend, that the two feet of the famous Coloſſus of braſs, of which we have already ſpoken, and which paſſed for one of the ſeven wonders of the world, were formerly placed on the very ſpot where theſe two towers ſtand, on two rocks that are over againſt one another.* Near this port there are two little bays, one of them looking to the north, and the other to the ſouth: that which looks to the north had its entrance commanded by a mole, which ran out above three hundred paces into the ſea; 'twas at the further end of this mole that the grand maſter Zacoſta built the fortreſs which was called the tower of St. Nicholas, from a chapel dedicated to that ſaint, and incloſed within the walls of the fort. At the extremity of the other bay, towards the ſouth, there is another tower, but not ſo conſiderable as the firſt: however, it ſerved well enough on its ſide to defend the entrance of the port. This tower hindered any veſſel from either going in or coming out of it. Two miles from the town was the mountain or hill of St. Stephen, and a little further, but on another ſide, was mount Philerme, famous for the devotion of the people of the iſland, and other Chriſtian people in the neighbourhood; who came in pilgrimage to viſit the church that was built there in honour of the holy virgin. Such was the ſituation of the city of Rhodes, and the parts adjacent, when it was beſieged by the baſha Paleologus.

THE ſea near the ſhore was then covered with the fleet of the Turks, who made continual diſcharges of their artillery, in order to favour their deſcent. They were anſwered by the cannon of the city and the forts; and the knights, puſhed on by their valour, advanced ſword in hand in the water up to the middle, to prevent and ſtop the Turks from landing. Much blood was ſpilt on this firſt occaſion; but in ſpite of all the efforts of the Chriſtians, their bravery was forced to yield

yield to the numberleſs multitudes of the infidels. Thoſe barbarians divided their troops; and whilſt a part of them employed all the forces of the knights, the greater number landed in crowds in remote places, where there was leſs oppoſition. At length the whole army landed; they advanced to the mountain or hill of St. Stephen, where they immediately intrenched themſelves; and after landing their artillery ſent to ſummon the place, uſing both threats and promiſes, which were ſlighted alike.

SEVERAL detachments of infidels appeared ſoon after in the plain: the principal commanders that were at their head, advanced to reconnoitre the fortifications of the place. There was no approaching them without danger, and the vigorous ſallies that were made obliged them to take to their heels, and fly back to their camp. In one of theſe ſallies, wherein the vicomte de Monteil, the grand maſter's brother, commanded, the renegado Demetrius loſt his life. His horſe was killed under him; he fell to the ground; and the weight of his armour hindering him from riſing, ſome ſquadrons that were in purſuit of the enemy, rode over him and cruſhed him to death. The order alſo, on this occaſion, loſt the chevalier de Marat, of the language of Auvergne, and of the illuſtrious houſe of la Tour, who puſhing the infidels with more eagerneſs than prudence, was ſurrounded by a ſquadron of ſpahi, who cut off his head.

FROM theſe light skirmiſhes which were of no great moment on either ſide, it was neceſſary to come to more regular attacks. The German engineer, after having viewed all the out-works of the place, adviſed the baſha to make his firſt attack on the tower of St. Nicholas, flattering him with the hopes of being ſoon maſter of the port and city, provided he could once take that fortreſs. Paleologus following his advice, planted immediately a battery of three large pieces of cannon near the church of St. Anthony, which began to batter the tower. The grand maſter on his ſide, ordered a counter-battery to be raiſed in the garden of the

the language of Auvergne, which made full as great a fire: and the gunners on both ſides did all they could to diſmount the cannon on the oppoſite batteries. This however was but a ſlight prelude to the terrible thunder that was heard, when the baſha had erected all his batteries, and planted on them that prodigious number of cannon of all ſizes, which he had ordered to be brought into his camp.

THE German engineer, to join artifice to open force, and find means to reconnoitre the weak places of the town, concerting the matter firſt with the Turkiſh general, preſented himſelf the next day as a deſerter on the edge of the ditch, and in a ſuppliant poſture, as if he was afraid of being taken, begged the guard to open him the wicket that moment. The grand maſter having notice of it, ordered him to be let in, and he was conducted ſtraight to his palace. He was a tall handſome man, had a good air, was ſubtle in his diſcourſe, and concealed under an ingenuous outſide all the addreſs of a cunning and deceitful villain.

THE grand maſter, who had the council of the order about him, asked him the reaſon why he had quitted the ſervice of ſo potent a prince as Mahomet, eſpecially when he expoſed himſelf, if the place was taken, to the cruel tortures and executions with which they puniſhed deſerters. The perfidious German, without changing colour, and with that air of ſincerity which peculiarly diſtinguiſhes his nation, diſſembled his change of religion, and anſwered that he was a Chriſtian; that greedineſs of gain and hope of reward had engaged him, as they had ſeveral other Chriſtians, to follow the grand ſeignior's ſtandard; but that ever ſince that prince's army was landed in the iſle of Rhodes, he had felt ſuch a terrible remorſe of conſcience, that he was not able to bear the reproaches of it any longer, and was therefore come cordially to offer him his ſervice, and to ſacrifice his life in the defence of Rhodes and the order. *

THE

* Relation de Merry de Dupuy, auteur contemporain. p. 17.

THE grand maſter, though always on his guard againſt deſerters, did not diſcover the leaſt ſign of diffidence; on the contrary, he extolled the pious motives that had brought him back into the ſervice of Chriſtian princes: and then asked him with all the ſhew and air of confidence imaginable, what might be the deſigns, and alſo the number of the forces of the baſha.

"THE baſha, replied the German, hath but too "plainly declared his own deſigns, and thoſe of his "maſter, by his attacks. As for his forces, you your"ſelf may have ſeen how numerous and formidable "his fleet is. The land forces conſiſt of above an "hundred thouſand men, moſt of them old ſoldiers, "who have followed Amurath and Mahomet his ſon "in all their conqueſts. But his artillery is what a "beſieged town ought to dread the moſt. Never had "any general ſo vaſt a number of cannon in his army, "and at the ſame time ſo well managed: and beſides "his ordinary cannon, he has, ſince his arrival in the "iſland, cauſed ſixteen great pieces of cannon to be "caſt, called baſiliſks or double cannon, ſixteen "foot long, and carrying ball of two or three feet "diameter." He continued further to ſay, that his mortars were altogether as dreadful in their effects, and that they threw ſtones of a prodigious bigneſs. "You "will feel immediately, ſaid he, the fury of thoſe in"fernal machines, againſt which you cannot take "your precautions too ſoon." To gain the grand maſter's confidence, and make that confidence a ſtep to the treaſon he deſigned, he gave him ſeveral advices of great importance for the defence of the place, and which in the event proved very uſeful.

SEVERAL lords of the council who heard him, thought the villain very ſincere in all he ſaid; others, who remembered they had ſeen him formerly in that very city of Rhodes, told the maſter privately, that he had ever ſince that time been looked upon as an adventurer and a vagabond that had no religion, and was capable of doing and attempting any thing for money.

THE

This made an impreſſion, but what compleated to make him ſuſpected, was, that they ſhot at the ſame time into the town billets fixed to arrows, which had only theſe words wrote in them, "Beware of maſter "George." Theſe were immediately carried to the grand maſter; and in the council, ſome in their plain way of thinking attributed theſe advices to the grand ſeignior's Chriſtian ſubjects, whom he forced to ſerve in his armies. Others maintained that it might be an artifice of the baſha's own, who affected to diſcredit his ſpy in order to recommend him the more to the confidence of the knights. The grand maſter, that he might run no hazard, and at the ſame time make, if poſſible, an advantage of the talents of this engineer, ordered the officers of the artillery to get out of him whatever might be uſeful for the defence of the place, but at the ſame time to watch him as a ſpy. And in order to prevent his getting out of the city, or holding any correſpondence with the Turks, he ſet ſix ſoldiers as a guard over him, who never loſt ſight of him wherever he went. The German, purſuant to his orders, would fain have reconnoitred the weakeſt places of the town; but as ſoon as he came near a bulwark or a baſtion, he was always accoſted by ſome commander or other, who, with a cold and ſevere air, asked him what he wanted: ſo that fearing to make himſelf at laſt ſuſpected, and to be treated as a ſpy, he kept himſelf retired in the lodging that was aſſigned him.

THE baſha, whilſt he was waiting the ſucceſs of his treaſon, and their mutual intelligence,* continued battering the tower of St. Nicholas with his biggeſt artillery: they fired above three hundred cannon-ſhot againſt it; the ſide towards the ſea, which was ſtrengthened with a rampart, bore the brunt of the artillery very well; but that part of the wall which was over againſt the town was entirely beaten down. The ſtones and rubbiſh by a lucky accident ſtopped at the foot of the wall, heaped one upon another, but in the form of a ſlope,

* Caourſin. p. 3. verſo.

a ſlope, ſo that it ſerved on the outſide as a ſecond wall.

THE grand maſter however, knowing that the ſafety of the town depended on the preſervation of this fort, ſent the flower of his knights into it under the conduct of the commander Carreto, of the language of Italy, a knight of approved valour, and conſidered as one of the firſt of the order. Theſe gallant knights worked night and day to intrench themſelves, and raiſed batteries to defend the breach. The grand maſter, obſerving that in certain places the ſea was ſometimes ſo low, that the Turks might ford it, and get upon the mole, cauſed tables and planks thick ſet with nails and iron ſpikes to be thrown into the water to ſpoil the bottom. At the ſame time they fit out ſome fire ſhips at the foot of the rocks that lay about the tower, to ſet fire to the enemy's gallies if they ſhould offer to approach too near. A body of French and Spaniſh knights poſt themſelves by his order in the town ditch, in order to defend the approaches, or upon the leaſt ſignal to throw themſelves into the fort, and re-inforce the garriſon. After all theſe precautions, the grand maſter, not caring to leave the defence of ſo important a place to any body's care but his own, threw himſelf into it with the viſcount de Monteil his brother, and other volunteers, who would needs ſhare with him in the manifeſt danger to which he was expoſing himſelf.

AND indeed the baſha orders the aſſault to be given the next day, which was the ninth of June; and two hours before day break his gallies and light veſſels, with a body of infantry aboard, advance towards the tower with a favourable wind. They ſoon reach the mole, their ſoldiers leap aſhore with great ſhouts, and advanced boldly to the aſſault in ſpite of all the fire made from ſeveral batteries that played upon them. The difficulty of mounting the breach obliged them to make uſe of ladders; they clapped them on with an air of intrepidity to that heap of ſtones which the cannon had beat down, and which ſerved as a fore-wall to the place,

and mounted to the ſtorm ſword in hand, with a reſolution great enough to aſtoniſh any other men but the knights. The grand maſter was upon the breach, and performed the office of a captain and a ſoldier at one and the ſame time. His armour was pierced through in ſeveral places in this engagement, and a ſhard of ſtone having carried off his helmet without wounding him, he, without any concern at all, took off the hat of the firſt ſoldier that ſtood next him. The fear of other accidents ſtill more fatal, made the knights, who knew not what it was to tremble for themſelves, to be under the greateſt apprehenſions for the ſafety of the grand maſter: and the commander Caretto begging him with great reſpect, in the name of the whole order, to retire, and leave the care of defending the breach to his knights, "This, ſays he to him, is the "poſt of honour that belongs to your grand maſter:" And turning himſelf towards Caretto, "And if I am "killed there, added he, with an obliging ſmile, you "have more to hope than I have to fear:" giving him thereby to underſtand, that his great valour made him think he merited to be his ſucceſſor.

THE knights following the example, and fighting in the preſence of the grand maſter, lined the breach; and for want of a wall, made a rampart with their bodies. Some overturn the ſcaling ladders; others throw down maſſes of vaſt weight, that cruſh the beſiegers to pieces in their fall; nor are there wanting ſome who throw fire-works and boiling oil on the aſſailants: every one has a ſhare in the attack, and all exert themſelves in a reſiſtance that ſeems to be ſuperior to human ſtrength. The Turks don't appear any way daunted; not one of them draws back from danger. If the knights ſtrike any of them down from the ladders, their place are immediately ſupplied by others who preſs on to mount. Such as could not get to the poſt of danger at the foot of the wall, fired upon the breach with their muskets, annoyed the knights with their arrows, or elſe tried to lay hold of them

with cramp-irons faſtened to cords, and ſo pull them down to the ground in order to cut them to pieces.

'TWOULD be impoſſible to relate all the actions of the moſt finiſhed valour that were performed by private perſons of each party: hiſtory has not preſerved the particulars of them. At length fire, whoſe ſtrength is greater and more terrible than that of men, determined the fate of this furious attack. The fireſhips of the order faſtening themſelves to ſeveral of the Turkiſh gallies, ſet them on fire; the cannon of the city play'd upon the reſt; and the knights, whoſe force and courage ſeemed to redouble with the heat of the attack, made ſuch a dreadful fire with their ſmall ſhot, that the infidels, after the loſs of their principal leaders, took to their heels, and in their precipitate retreat, were drowned or killed in great numbers on the ſeaſhore, as they were crowding to get aboard their veſſels.

THIS ill ſucceſs, inſtead of daunting the baſha, did but exaſperate him the more againſt the knights. But that he might not ſhew an unreaſonable obſtinacy in continuing the attack of a place whither the grand maſter ſeemed to have drawn all his forces, he turned all his efforts againſt the body of the place. By his orders two attacks were carried on at the ſame time, one againſt the quarter of the Jews, and the other towards the poſt of the Italian inn. But the latter was only a falſe attack; the true one was againſt the Jews wall: the baſha raiſed ſeveral batteries to beat it down; and though, as hiſtorians of that time relate, it was twenty eight foot thick, yet being old, and not ſtrengthened by a rampart, the force of the artillery ſoon put it in a tottering condition. The grand maſter, in order to be provided for the Turks if they ſhould attempt a ſtorm, ordered ſeveral houſes to be pulled down, and dug a very broad and deep ditch on the ſpot where they ſtood, behind which they raiſed a new brick wall, ſuſtained by a thick rampart, a work which ſeems incredible conſidering the ſhort time employed in finiſhing it. But as they all ſaw the neceſſity of it, and the danger

danger the town was expoſed to, every body worked at it with equal ardor. The grand maſter himſelf, and the moſt antient commanders by his example, performed the office of workmen and pioneers. All the inhabitants, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or condition, worked night and day: and the Greeks and Latins, who had ſuch frequent diſputes in time of peace, now laid all aſide, except that of a generous emulation, in ſtriving who ſhould firſt finiſh the task they had taken upon themſelves. The Jewiſh women, as well as the Chriſtian, being threatened with an odious ſlavery, and dreading ſtill more the indignities they ſhould be expoſed to, if the city ſhould be taken by ſtorm, drudged at the work as well as the men. The very nuns came out of their convents, and aſſiſted the workmen with an incredible zeal. Every body was then a ſoldier or pioneer. Every one conſpired and united in the defence of their common country; and it was owing to this general zeal that the grand maſter was able in ſo ſhort a time to finiſh ſuch great works, which in any other juncture could not have been performed in ſeveral months.

IN the mean time the artillery of the Infidels was continually battering the wall; nothing could reſiſt their baſiliſks and great cannon: and the noiſe of them was heard from the iſle of Lango, which is an hundred miles weſt of Rhodes to the iſle of Chateauroux, which is the ſame diſtance from it to the eaſt. Their mortars at the ſame time threw ſtones of prodigious ſize, which flying through the air by the force of powder fell into the city, and lighting upon houſes, broke through the roofs, made their way through the ſeveral ſtories, and cruſh'd to pieces all that they fell upon: no body was ſafe from them; and it was this kind of attack that gave the greateſt terror to the Rhodians.

THE grand maſter, to lodge the women and children eſpecially in a place of ſecurity, ordered them to retire into a quarter of the city that lay fartheſt diſtant from the batteries, and was to the weſt between the houſes and ramparts. On this place they laid great beams by way of roof, and made it ſo ſubſtantial and thick, that there was no manner of danger from the great ſtones:

and to pay the baſha in his own coin, the grand maſter, with the help of the moſt skilful engineers, ſet the carpenters of the town at work to make a wooden engine that would alſo throw quarries of ſtone of a prodigious bulk: and theſe ſtones not only cruſh'd all the ſoldiers to pieces that were within their reach, but their vaſt weight falling upon hollow ground, they broke through and killed the workmen in the bottom of their mines. The knights out of raillery called this machine THE TRIBUTE, alluding to that which Mahomet [a] demanded of the order, and giving him withal to underſtand that he was to expect no other kind of payment.

IN the mean time the general of the Infidels puſhed on his approaches with vigour; and his artillery having made great breaches, he ſent to reconnoitre them, in order to an aſſault. But he was ſtrangely ſurpriſed to learn, that the knights had made a deep ditch, and raiſed a new wall behind the old one. He was likewiſe told by ſome deſerters, that by the grand maſter's care and vigilance, the women and children eſpecially had no occaſion to dread the terrible effect of the ſtones, which now would only fall upon empty houſes.

THE baſha, enraged to find in the grand maſter's ſingle perſon continual obſtacles to all his enterprizes, reſolved to get rid of him at any rate, and get him diſpatched by dagger or poiſon. For the execution of this baſe deſign, he pitched upon two deſerters of the garriſon, who ſince their deſertion had renounced the faith; the one a Dalmatian, and the other an Albanian. Theſe two renegadoes, tempted by the alluring promiſes of the baſha, and in concert with him, quitted his army, and got back into the town, as if they had made their eſcape out of the hands of the Infidels after having been taken in a ſally. They received them into the place with joy, and without the leaſt diffidence. The villains were already beginning to rejoice for the ſucceſs which they expected in their undertaking; the Dalmatian, as they pretend, had actually bribed an inferior

[a] Caoutſin, p. 7.

ſerior officer of his table, who only waited a favourable opportunity to execute the horrid conſpiracy. The Albanian, who was acquainted with the grand maſter's ſecretary, finding him diſcontented with that prince, was imprudent enough to open himſelf to him; and ſhewing him letters ſealed with the baſha's ſeal, promiſed him the firſt dignities of the empire, and immenſe wealth, if he would execute what the Albanian propoſed to him in his name. The ſecretary, who was a man of great honour, diſcovered it immediately to the grand maſter; upon which the Albanian was ſeized, and being put to the torture diſcovered his accomplice; but before they could be carried to the place of execution they were both torn to pieces by the people.

THE baſha, not diſcouraged at the ill ſucceſs of his ſhameful and abominable deſign, had again recourſe to open force, and without quitting the attack of the Jews quarter, he, by the advice of the principal officers of his army, reſumed the firſt project of the German, and reſolved to carry the tower of St. Nicholas.

A CANAL, which indeed was pretty narrow, ran between this tower and the place where the Infidels were encamped; and in order to attack it, it was neceſſary to croſs the canal, or that little arm of the ſea which is formed by one of the bays before mentioned. The general of the gallies, the commander of the troops of Anatolia, and Mezla-Bey, ſon in-law to one of Mahomet's ſons, all officers of great experience and valour, undertook to make the attack, and land the troops neceſſary for the execution of it upon the mole. For this purpoſe they framed a bridge which was to reach from St. Anthony's church to the tower; and for the guiding and placing one end of it upon the point of the mole of St. Nicholas, a Turkiſh engineer in the night time carried an anchor to the place, and fixed it to the foot of a rock which was covered with the ſea water*; putting through the ring of the anchor a great cable which was fixed to the head of the bridge, and was to make it go forwards by means of the capſtan. But an

* Dupuis, p. 47

Engliſh ſeaman, whoſe name hiſtory has not thought unworthy to be preſerved, called Gervaſe Rogers, being accidentally on the place, and having obſerved all that the Turkiſh engineer did without diſcovering himſelf, ſuffered him to go away at a diſtance, and then plunged into the ſea, privately loos'd the cable which he left upon the ſtrand, carried off the anchor, and brought it to the grand maſter, who gave him a very handſome reward. The Turks, when their bridge was got ready, endeavoured to make it go forwards by means of the cable, but ſoon found by the eaſe which they had in pulling it to them, that their ſtratagem was diſcovered and diſappointed.

THE baſha, diſappointed in this expedient, got together a great number of boats to ſuſtain this floating bridge, and tow it in the night to the ſide of the mole where it was to be faſtened. The ſoldiers got upon the mole, and were filing continually one after another over the bridge, whilſt the galiots and other light veſſels at the ſame time landed ſeveral companies of the braveſt troops of the army on the other ſide. They all fed themſelves with hopes of ſurprizing the Chriſtians; but d'Aubuſſon, who had foreſeen this ſecond attack, after having re-inforced the garriſon and lined the wall with a body of intrepid musketeers and a good number of cannon, was expecting them reſolutely on the breach. At the noiſe which the Turks made in getting upon the mole, they, by his orders, made in the dark two ſuch furious diſcharges on all ſides, that abundance of the Infidels were killed.

THE baſha, who was in perſon at the head of this enterprize, not to expoſe his ſoldiers longer to the fire of the fortreſs, made them advance to the foot of the fort, on that ſide where his artillery had made great breaches. They ſoon came to blows, and without any other light than what came from fire-pots, granadoes and vollies of fire arms, a long and obſtinate engagement enſued. The bridge and galiots ſupplied the Turks continually with freſh troops. Never did thoſe Infidels ſhew ſo much valour and ſo reſolute a courage.

Some

Some of them by the help of their ladders mounted to the top of the breach, and ſcorning to retire, choſe rather to be killed than ask quarter. Merla-Bey ſtood his ground almoſt alone upon the ruins of the tower; and making himſelf a rampart with the corpſe of dead ſoldiers, and covered all over with wounds, he killed ſeveral knights with his own hand, but at laſt ſtriking a ſoldier who had juſt wounded him with his ſabre and whom he ſlew with the blow, he fell dead by his ſide. Nor was the combat upon the ſea leſs furious. The fireſhips, which the grand maſter had prepared, grappled with the Turkiſh gallies that battered the fort, and ſet them on fire. The cries of thoſe that crowded to get out of the fire that blazed about them; the ſmoke and roaring of the cannon; the groans of wounded; the horror too of the darkneſs, all was not able to damp the courage of the combatants: they all ſeemed reſolved either to vanquiſh or die. The ſame valour and reſolution was conſpicuous on both ſides. How many heroick actions hath the darkneſs of the night concealed from our knowledge. In fine, the day appeared, and diſcovered the loſs ſuſtained by the Infidels. The ſea was covered with floating carcaſes, bows, arrows, turbants, and the hulks of their gallies ſtill in a ſmoke. To make their calamities ſtill greater, the gunners of the fort obſerving when day-light appeared, the enemies bridge thronged with ſoldiers that were coming to the ſuccour of their comrades, levelled their cannon againſt it, and beat the bridge to pieces: others pretend it was broke by the crowd of Infidels that were flying over it. Thoſe barbarians, not able any longer to bear up againſt the Chriſtians, gave over the attack, nothwithſtanding the prayers and threats of their officers, and fled for their lives to the veſſels in which they firſt came.

SEVERAL knights at the head of the garriſon purſued and cut a good number of them to pieces. Merry or Mederic du Puis, whom I have followd in ſeveral places of this relation, tells us, that a Franciſcan friar, Anthony Fradin by name, was one of the hotteſt in

this

this purſuit; that he ran with a ſabre in his hand into the ſea as high as his waſte to hinder the Infidels from re-embarking; that he killed ſeveral of them, and cut off their heads, and that the Infidels loſt in this engagement above two thouſand five hundred men: and we may reaſonably conclude, eſpecially in a combat that was chiefly fought during the darkneſs of the night, that this could not have happened without the order's likewiſe loſing ſeveral of its knights. 'Tis indeed generally allowed, that they were almoſt all wounded; but they do not reckon above twelve killed, and who, with the loſs of their lives ſealed the profeſſion they made of defending the order to the laſt drop of their blood.

THIS ill ſucceſs threw the Turks into a conſternation, which was ſucceeded by a melancholy ſilence for three days together all over the camp; they ſunk into a kind of indolence; the general himſelf was infected with it, and could not tell what reſolution to take: but as he dreaded Mahomet's choler and indignation as much as he did the ſword of the knights, he at laſt came out of this lethargy, and raiſing his ſpirits, applied himſelf again to the ſiege, and renewed his attacks with as much fury as ever. He had no encouragement to go on with that of the tower; he therefore returned to the poſts of Italy and the Jews, which he battered again with all his artillery. But to conceal the place where he really deſigned his attack, he raiſed other batteries againſt different quarters of the walls. The relations of the ſiege tell us, that there were three thouſand five hundred vollies made by theſe baſiliſks and great cannon, which quite battered down a great part of the walls, towers and ravelins. Theſe infernal machines had dreadful effects, but they were not his only way of attacking: he had ſoldiers and pioneers continually at work, ſome of which carried earth and faſcines to fill up the ditch, whilſt ſome were digging under ground and others puſhing on the galleries, and preparing mines to blow up the fortifications that were left. The town was open on all ſides, but above all the place

of

of the low town and the Jews quarter ſeemed the moſt ruined and in the greateſt danger.

IN this extremity the knights [a] that guarded the German engineer took him to the breach, ſhewed him the ruins of it, the works of the beſiegers, the condition of the ditch which was in a manner filled up, and deſired the aſſiſtance of his art againſt the danger they were in. At this ſight, whatever diſſimulation the traitor had practiſed ſince his being in the place, he yet could not help diſcovering an ill-natured ſatisfaction, when immediately recollecting himſelf, he returned to the part he acted, and pretended to lament the misfortune of Rhodes and the knights: "What ſuccour, "ſays he to them, can you hope for in a place that is "open on all ſides, ſurrounded with a hundred thou-"ſand men ready to ſtorm it, and which muſt infallibly "be carried at the firſt aſſault?" However, to keep on playing his old game, he declared himſelf of opinion, that they ſhould change the place of their batteries, and by a new piece of treachery, which he had undoubtedly concerted with the baſha before they parted, he got them to raiſe batteries in the weakeſt places of the town, to ſignify to the Turks where they ſhould direct their own; and under pretence of making himſelf ſerviceable, he would needs point and fire the cannon himſelf: but they ſoon found that he not only ſhot at random, but occaſioned likewiſe freſh cannonadings to be made againſt the place that he fired from. Theſe different obſervations made him to be the more ſuſpected. He was brought before the council of war; and faltering ſeveral times in his anſwers to the queſtions which the judges put to him, he was, in order to have his contradictions laid open, put to the torture, when he at laſt owned that he was come into the place by the expreſs order of Mahomet, and that for no other end but to deliver it up, if he could, to the Infidels; that though he was watched by the guards whom the grand maſter ſet over him, he had nevertheleſs found means to convey very uſeful advices into their camp; that

[a] Dupuis p. 60.

that this was not the firſt place he had betrayed under pretence of a feigned repentance; and that he had himſelf been the ſole occaſion of the loſs of an infinite number of Chriſtians. His confeſſion was brought to the grand maſter, who immediately ordered the infamous villain to be executed.

BUT ſome Italian and Spaniſh knights did not fail to reflect upon what he had ſaid of the danger the city was in of being carried at the firſt aſſault, this was indeed but too viſible: they communicated to each other their mutual fright: the cabal grew ſtrong, and ſecret conferences were held, the reſult whereof was, that ſince there was no ſaving of Rhodes, it was not juſt to ſacrifice what knights were ſtill left to the deſperate humour of the grand maſter, a man who did not care to ſurvive the loſs of his principality; but that they, whatever he had reſolved to the contrary, ought to ſave the knights and inhabitants by an honourable compoſition. Theſe murmurs and ſcandalous projects ſoon reached the palace. The grand maſter had notice of them: he ſent for theſe knights; and as if he conſidered them no longer among the profeſſed members of the order, "Gentlemen, ſays he to them, if any of "you think yourſelves not ſafe in the place, the port "is not yet ſo cloſely blocked up, but that you may find "means to get out." When aſſuming an air of majeſty, indignation and wrath, he added. "But if you "think fit to ſtay with us, ſpeak not a word more "about a compoſition, for if you do, your lives ſhall "pay for it."

THESE terrible words filled thoſe knights with ſhame and confuſion: and they had a very happy effect, for they immediately called up in their minds all their brave and heroick ſentiments. They deteſted their own weakneſs, and all promiſed to make atonement for it by the ſacrifice of their own blood, or of that of the Infidels: and they were afterwards always the firſt to expoſe themſelves to the greateſt dangers. Nor would it have been poſſible for men of leſs reſolution to have reſiſted the continual attacks of the Turks. The baſha

battered

battered the city night and day without giving the beſieged the leaſt intermiſſion: but as his principal deſign was to make the aſſault on the ſide of the Jews wall, and the ditch was ſtill of a conſiderable depth, his ſoldiers, by his orders, and under the fire of his cannon, worked with ſo much ardor and ſucceſs, that they at laſt filled it up, ſo that a ſquadron of horſe might eaſily march over it into the town.

EVERY thing was ready for the aſſault. There were neither ditches, nor walls, nor towers, to hinder the Turks in making it. But the baſha, who dreaded the heroick valour of the knights, more than he did the fortifications of art, and was for ſaving his troops, ſent to the grand maſter to propoſe a conference, in hopes of prevailing with him to ſurrender rather than wait the laſt extremities. The grand maſter, in order to gain time to make new retrenchments, was not averſe to the propoſal. The conference was held the next day by the ditch ſide. The baſha was not there in perſon, but ſent one of the principal officers of his army in his ſtead; and the grand maſter on his ſide[a] deputed brother Anthony Gaultier caſtellan of Rhodes for that purpoſe. The Turkiſh officer, laying aſide that proud air and haughty way which Mahomet's formidable power generally inſpired into his miniſters, preſſed the knights to prevent the calamities which uſually attend a place taken by ſtorm. He told the caſtellan, that a gallant defence juſtly deſerved the eſteem and praiſes even of the enemy, if they had any proſpect of good ſucceſs; but that valour ought to have its bounds, and that it was not ſo much courage as a raſh madneſs to throw themſelves into perils out of which there was no poſſibility of eſcaping; that it was likewiſe a ſort of inhumanity to involve innocent people therein, under pretence of defending them; that the walls of the town were demoliſhed, the towers beaten down, the ditches filled up; that Rhodes in fine was no more, or at leaſt was only a confuſed maſs of rubbiſh and heap of aſhes, which the baſha could make himſelf maſter of in an aſ-

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[a] Dupuis p. 67.

ſault of two hours continuance only. When putting on a ſoft and inſinuating air, he begged of him to prevail with the grand maſter and the council to come to a prudent compoſition, and prevent a general maſſacre of the knights and inhabitants, the diſhonour of the women and maidens, and all the horrors that are inſeparable always from a place taken by ſtorm, and ſword in hand.

THOUGH the grand maſter [a] did not appear at this conference, he yet was not far off. He heard all the Turk's artful diſcourſe; and by his orders the caſtellan of Rhodes anſwered, that the baſha was very ill ſerved by his ſpies, who had not given him a true account of the condition and forces of the place; that if the Turks durſt make an aſſault, they would inſtead of a wall, find new ditches, works and intrenchments within, which would put them to the expence of a vaſt deal of blood before they could force them; but though they had not ſuch obſtacles to ſurmount, yet the city was ſtrong enough as long as it was defended by the knights, who had all but one heart and one mind, and no view in nature but the defence of the faith, and the honour and glory of the order; and that men who were not afraid of death, were a much ſtronger fortification than walls and baſtions. Thus ended the conference; the Turkiſh envoy retired, and gave the baſha to underſtand, that there was no depending on a compoſition, and that nothing but the force of arms could determine the fate of Rhodes.

THE baſha, vexed and aſhamed that he had made ſuch a ſtep to no purpoſe, ſwore in the tranſports of his paſſion, that he would put all to the ſword. They likewiſe ſharpened a great number of ſtakes by his order, for impaling the knights and inhabitants; he promiſed the plunder of the city to his ſoldiers, and commanded ladders and the neceſſary machines for an aſſault to be carried to ſeveral places in order to oblige the knights to divide their forces. But the true attack and main effort of his forces was directed againſt the Jews quarter

[a] Caourſin, p. 10.

ter, which was the moſt ruined. There were not the leaſt footſteps of a wall to be ſeen in that place, as we have obſerved; the ditch was filled up, and to hinder the knights from making intrenchments, or even from appearing on the breaches, ſeveral batteries were kept firing a whole day and night without intermiſſion, and carried off every thing that appeared upon them. In fine, the day following, July 27. a little after ſun-riſing, the Turks advance in good order, and with great ſilence, get without making any noiſe upon the ramparts, and make themſelves maſters of them, without finding the leaſt reſiſtance. The Chriſtians who were upon their guard, had, to avoid the fury of the cannon that played continually, poſted themſelves at the bottom of a ſlope which was made by the rubbiſh of the wall on their ſide, and moſt of them being worn out with watching and fatigues were unluckily aſleep. The Turks proud of this beginning of ſucceſs fix their colours, and fortify themſelves in that poſt. The baſha agreeably ſurpriſed with this happy beginning, orders new troops to advance, ſo that the rampart was ſoon covered with them.

RHODES would have been loſt without an immediate ſuccour, but the grand maſter having notice of the danger the place was in, ordered the great ſtandard of the order to be immediately diſplayed, and turning himſelf towards the knights that he had kept about him, in order to march to the places which ſhould be moſt preſſed, "Let us go, my brethren, ſays he to "to them with a noble fortitude, and fight for the "faith and the defence of Rhodes, or bury ourſelves in "its ruins." He advances immediately in great haſte at the head of thoſe knights, and ſees with ſurprize five and twenty hundred Turks maſters of the breach, the rampart and all the platform about it. As the houſes and ſtreets were much lower, there was no going to them, or getting upon the rampart, but by two ſtair caſes, which had been made formerly, but which were

[a] Baptiſt Fulgoſius de dictis factiſque memorabilibus collectanearum, l. 3. c. 2. particula penultima.

then covered with the rubbiſh of the wall. The grand maſter takes a ladder, claps it himſelf to that heap of ſtones, and without regarding thoſe that the enemies threw upon him, mounts firſt with an half-pike in his hand; the knights in imitation of his bravery, ſome with ladders, and others climbing up the rubbiſh, exert themſelves to the utmoſt in following him, and get to the top of the rampart.

THERE was ſeen on this occaſion, contrary to what is generally practiſed in ſieges, the beſieged themſelves mounting to the aſſault, and the beſiegers ſtanding on the defenſive. The Infidels repulſe the Chriſtians with their musket-ſhot and arrows, or elſe by rolling down great ſtones upon them. All the valour of theſe courageous knights could not force its way through ſo vigorous an oppoſition. Several were cruſhed to death by the weight of the ſtones rolled down upon them. The grand maſter himſelf was twice thrown down; but in ſpite of impending death, and which preſented itſelf on all ſides, and without regarding two wounds he had juſt received, he gets up and bravely mounts again through a continual fire of muskets, and ſhowers of arrows and ſtones; and ſeconded by his gallant knights, leaps at laſt upon the rampart on which the Turks had poſted themſelves. The combat was then upon more equal terms; the knights fall ſword in hand upon the Infidels; they cloſe on both ſides in a moment, with a reciprocal fury; all are engaged, and ſeem reſolved to vanquiſh. One ſide to maintain its firſt advantage, and the other to regain a poſt on which the ſafety of the place depended. The grand maſter diſtinguiſhed himſelf more by his ſurprizing valour, than by his dignity: he killed ſeveral officers of the Turks with his own hand, and threw others of them down from the walls.

VICTORY began to declare itſelf in his favour. The Turks give way; their battalions open; the baſha, who perceived it, ordered a body of janizaries to advance immediately to their ſupport; he himſelf advanced alſo by their ſide, with his ſabre in hand, either to

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encourage them, or to kill ſuch as ſhould retire back. He ſoon diſcovered the grand maſter, not ſo much by his gilt arms, as by the deadly blows he gave. As he had not been able to deſtroy him by poiſon, as has been already ſeen, he engaged ſeveral janizaries, by the hopes of a great reward, to attack him particularly, and by his death revenge the blood of their companions. Twelve of the moſt reſolute ſoldiers of that body devoted themſelves, as it were to death, in order to diſpatch him. They ruſh headlong into the midſt of the engagement, charge the Chriſtians with vigour, pierce their ranks, open a way to the grand maſter, and in ſpite of the knights that ſurrounded his perſon, attack him, and give him five great wounds at once. The ardor with which he was enflamed in the heat of the combat, hindered him at firſt from feeling them: he fought on ſome time longer with his uſual valour. The knights ſeeing the blood that flowed from his wounds, begged of him to retire; but that great man, inſtead of complying with their affectionate intreaties, cried out, "Let us die in this place, my dear brethren, "rather than retire. Can we ever die more glori-"ouſly than in the defence of our faith and religi-"on?"

THESE heroick ſentiments, the wounds he had received, the blood that was ſtreaming from them, and the deſire of revenging him, animated the knights and Chriſtian ſoldiers in ſuch a manner, that mad with vexation, and like men that were reſolved not to ſurvive their leaders, they throw themſelves like furies into the thickeſt of the enemies, and make an horrible ſlaughter of them. The Turks daunted at their blows, which rage inſpired with an uncommon force, take them for other men, or for ſomething more than man. Terror ſeizes their ſpirits; they loſe all ſenſe and judgment with their courage; they all take to their heels, and in this diſorder and confuſion kill one another to make themſelves way. The knights make advantage of this conſternation, and not ſatisfied with having regained the breach, they ſally out and purſue the Turks. In vain does the

baſha labour to make them take heart; in ſpite of his promiſes and threats the flight becomes general; they drag him along with them in the univerſal rout, and he was glad to get into his camp for refuge; he afterwards made the beſt of his way to his ſhips and gallies, and went on board with as much ſhame as vexation.

THE grand maſter covered over with his own blood and with that of his enemies, but more with glory, was carried into his palace, where by the care of his knights and the good wiſhes of all his people, he recovered his health in a little time. As ſoon as he was able to walk, he went to the church of St. John to return thanks to the God of hoſts for the victory he had won; and in order to leave ſome laſting monuments of his acknowledgements and piety, he built three churches in honour of the bleſſed virgin and the patron-ſaints of the order. He made ſeveral foundations in theſe churches, to pray to God for ever for the ſouls of the knights that were killed in this bloody ſiege. The ſurviving knights that had ſignalized themſelves moſt were diſtinguiſhed by his favours, in which even the meaneſt ſoldiers had their ſhare; and to give ſome relief to the peaſants and inhabitants of the country, whoſe lands had been ravaged by the infidels, he diſtributed corn among them for their ſubſiſtence till the next harveſt, and exempted them for ſome years from the taxes they uſed to pay before the ſiege.

IF the grand maſter made all the inhabitants of Rhodes happy by his victory and liberality, Mahomet on the contrary, upon the firſt news he had of the raiſing of the ſiege, fell into a rage that made every body tremble; he was for ſtrangling his general and the principal officers of his army; no body durſt appear in his preſence. Paleologus thought himſelf happy with the loſs only of his dignity: Mahomet baniſhed him to Gallipoli. After the firſt violence of his paſſion was over, in order to conſole himſelf in ſome meaſure, he declared that his troops were never ſucceſsful but when

under

under his own conduct, and he reſolved the next campaign to put himſelf at the head of his army.

THE preparations which he made for that purpoſe were extraordinary: he muſtered no leſs than 300000 men, and the general rendezvous was in Bithynia, a province adjoining to Lycia, where they ſaid he was to embark, in order to paſs over to Rhodes. Others ſuſpected that this great armament was deſigned againſt the ſoldan of Egypt, and they founded their conjecture upon prince Zizim, one of his ſons, having already fallen into Syria by his orders. Be this as it will, Mahomet had paſſed the Helleſpont, and was marching with great diligence through Anatolia; when a blow from heaven put a ſtop to his enterprizes. A violent fit of the cholick carried him off at a little town of Bithynia called Teggiar Tzair. He died on the third of May, A. D. 1481. They carried his body to Conſtantinople, to inter it in a moſque of his own foundation: and though that prince had conquered two empires, twelve kingdoms, and above three hundred towns, yet the epitaph put over him, which indeed they pretend he drew up himſelf, makes no mention at all of thoſe great actions; as if he reckoned them for nothing in compariſon of his laſt projects. All they put over his tomb was nine or ten Turkiſh words only, the purport of which is as follows;

I DESIGNED TO CONQUER RHODES,
AND SUBDUE PROUD ITALY.

Mahomet by his death left the princes Bajazet and Zizim his ſons heirs to his vaſt empire. They found it however too narrow for their vaſt ambition: neither of them would hear a word of dividing it: both were for reigning alone. Caourſin, a contemporary hiſtorian, and vice-chancellor of the order of St. John, pretends that Bajazet was the elder. Jaligni, another hiſtorian of the ſame time, gives the right of elderſhip to Zizim, a queſtion of no great conſequence in a warlike nation, where arms had almoſt always decided the poſſeſſion of the crown.

BAJAZET loved ſtudy more than war, and he loved wine yet better than ſtudy. The Turks aſcribe to him a tranſlation into their language of the works of Averroes, the famous Arabian philoſopher, the ornament of Cordova where he was born. Zizim, leſs voluptuous than his brother, had always ſhewn a great impatience of following the example of his father, and acquiring glory by war. They pretend, that theſe two brothers had never ſeen one another but once. Mahomet, who had an inſatiable thirſt after ſovereign power, had always kept them aſunder, for fear they ſhould unite againſt him. At the time of that prince's death, Bajazet reſided at Amaſia, a city ſituated upon the Black ſea, in the fartheſt part of Cappadocia, and Zizim's reſidence was at Magneſia, a city of Caria.

IN this remote abſence of the two brothers, the baſha's and great officers of the crown were divided about the choice of an emperor. Every one eſpouſed the ſide that beſt ſuited his intereſt or inclination. Mahomet, then grand vizier or firſt baſha, who had ſucceeded Miſach Paleologus in that dignity, had moſt inclination to Zizim. But the baſha Cherlec-Ogli, ſon in law to Bajazet, ſeizing on the treaſures of Mahomet, made uſe of them to gain the janizaries of the porte. Achmet Geduc, another baſha, and the greateſt captain then among the Turks, being returned from Italy, where he had taken the town of Otranto, got the army he commanded to declare in favour of Bajazet.

THEY were ſurpriſed that this general, who was born a ſoldier and train'd up in war, and who beſides in Mahomet's lifetime had had very warm quarrels with Bajazet, ſhould prefer him to Zizim, a prince of extraordinary valour. But he did this probably from a political view, with regard to his own private intereſt, fancying, that he ſhould be more neceſſary and conſiderable under an unwarlike prince, given up entirely to libertinism, than under the dominion of a ſultan who would command his troops in perſon. Whatever was his motive, Bajazet's party, by the dexterity and good conduct of thoſe that had the management of it, got the

the better, and that prince was proclaimed grand ſeignior at Conſtantinople: and in order not to leave the throne empty in his abſence, his partiſans ſet up in it, in quality of his lieutenant, one of his ſons, named Corcutus, a young prince, who though ſcarce eight years old ſhewed a great unwillingneſs to quit it afterwards, when upon the arrival of the ſultan his father he was forced to deliver it up to him.

ZIZIM, who was at a greater diſtance from Conſtantinople, was later in receiving advice of Mahomet's death. He ſet out immediately on his way thither, but being informed that his brother had got the ſtart of him, and that that capital of the empire had declared in his favour, he returned back, put himſelf at the head of the army that he commanded in Syria, levied new troops, ſeized on Burſa and all Bithynia, and reſolved to wait the coming up of his enemy in that place.

BAJAZET, to hinder him from fortifying himſelf in Aſia, ordered his beſt troops to march immediately againſt him. This army was compoſed chiefly of janizaries and ſpahi's, i. e. the flower of the Turkiſh infantry and cavalry, which were reinforced with a good body of European troops, ſuperior in force and courage to the Aſiatick, who were moſt of them effeminated by the pleaſures and luxury of the country. What made this army ſtill more formidable was, that the valiant Achmet, the darling of the ſoldiery, was general of it, and Bajazet, who was indebted to him for the favour of the troops, by committing the general command of them to him, made him again the ſovereign diſpoſer of his fortune and empire.

ACHMET having paſſed the Boſphorus, entered Aſia, and advanced towards Burſa. Zizim did not think it proper to ſhut himſelf up in that place and ſtand a ſiege. He therefore marched out, and advanced forward againſt his brother's forces. They ſoon came to an engagement: a great empire was to be the prize of the victorious. Zizim, in order to obtain it, was incredibly valiant: that prince with ſabre in hand charged all that ſtood before him: the combat was bloody and obſtinate

ſtinate on both ſides: they took no priſoners, and gave no quarter on either ſide; and it was ſometime before it could be diſtinguiſhed on what ſide the victory would fall. But Achmet, after letting the enemy ſpend all their fire, putting himſelf at the head of a body of reſerve and freſh troops that had not yet fought, made ſo furious a charge on the Aſiaticks, that their troops, conſiſting moſt of new levies, could no longer ſuſtain the ſhock of the Europeans. In vain did Zizim exert himſelf to renew and maintain the battle; rallying his cavalry ſeveral times, and returning to the charge. The braveſt of them, who never quitted him in the battle, fell almoſt all by his ſide. Achmet met with very little oppoſition from the infantry: moſt of them were cut to pieces; ſuch as eſcaped the ſword of the victorious fled for their lives, and the fear of falling into Bajazet's power, forced Zizim at laſt to do the ſame.

THE night coming on was favourable to his eſcape. He threw himſelf into the midſt of a foreſt. As the night concealed the greatneſs of his loſs from him, he fed himſelf with the hopes of rallying his troops the next day, and trying again the fortune of war. But not being able to get above forty horſemen together, and all the reſt being either killed or diſperſed, he had no other courſe to take, but to get away as faſt as poſſible from a place which had proved ſo unfortunate, and might very well be more fatal to him: he was however under a difficulty about reſolving on a place to take refuge in. Among thoſe that ſtill continued about him, ſome of them propoſed Egypt to him, where Caitbei reigned as ſoldan, whilſt others were for his applying either to the prince of Caramania, or the grand maſter of Rhodes, all of them either open enemies of the Turks, or jealous of their power. Zizim determined in favour of the ſoldan, the ſtrongeſt potentate of the three. Paſſing always through by-roads, he got ſafe with his little troop into Syria, went on into Paleſtine, came to Jeruſalem, viſited the moſque, which they called the temple of Salomon, where he

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paid his devotions, and croſſing the deſarts of Arabia, arrived at Grand Cairo. He was received as a ſovereign prince, with all the honours and ceremonies due to his birth, but in reality with an indifference, ſuch as princes uſually diſcover for the unfortunate. Cait-Bei did not think proper to aſſociate himſelf with his ill fortune; and all his good offices ended in offering Zizim his mediation with his brother. That prince accepted it, rather out of complaiſance, and not to expreſs a contempt of it, than out of any hopes of good ſucceſs from it. The ſoldan immediately diſpatched an emir to Conſtantinople. During his voyage Zizim out of devotion made that of Mecca, and at his return brought his wife and children to Cairo. The ſoldan received them with great civility, and promiſed them his conſtant protection.

THE emir that Cait-Bei had ſent to Conſtantinople, began his negotiation as ſoon as he arrived. Bajazet, by the advice of Achmet his firſt miniſter, and in order to amuſe Zizim, propoſed to the ſoldan to give his brother a province in Aſia. Cait-Bei, to weaken the Turkiſh empire, could have wiſhed there had been a little more proportion in the ſhare allowed him; but as after all Bajazet was maſter of the whole empire, and pretended to preſcribe the terms of the treaty, the ſoldan being, as moſt mediators are, indifferent with reſpect to the intereſt of Zizim, was of opinion that he ought to accept his brother's propoſal, and repreſented to him, that a great province, in which he was to reign as abſolute ſovereign, was preferable to a war, the ſucceſs whereof was doubtful. Zizim, who aſpired to the empire, and whoſe courage and ambition made him think himſelf more worthy of it than his brother, rejected his offers with diſdain. He moreover ſaw plainly, that they only ſought to involve him in a labyrinth of artifice, and an endleſs negotiation; ſo that he anſwered the ſoldan, that ſuch great pretenſions on both ſides, and a diſpute of ſuch importance, were only to be determined by force of arms and ſword in hand.

BUT

BUT not finding that prince diſpoſed to take up arms in his favour, he only recommended his wife and children to him, and then retired to the Caramanian prince of Cilicia, in whom he fancied he ſhould find more generoſity and reſolution, and who had indeed ſent to him in Egypt to offer him the aſſiſtance of his arms, and propoſe the joining their forces againſt Bajazet. Mahomet had taken from that prince all Cappadocia, and that part of Cilicia which borders upon mount Taurus. Zizim coming to his court, promiſed him by the moſt ſolemn oaths to reſtore him thoſe provinces, in caſe he ſhould ever, by the aſſiſtance of his troops, recover his throne. The two princes in an interview, ſwore an inviolable fidelity to one another; the Caramanian immediately made preparations for war, and ſent to his allies and neighbours to demand ſuccours. The grand maſter of Rhodes, who was one of that number, ſent him five gallies well equipped with ſoldiers and artillery, to keep the ſea, and defend the coaſts of his country; and the Caramanian at the ſame time had ſeveral re-inforcements ſent him from ſome petty Mahometan princes, who entered into the league againſt a power that ſeemed ready to ſwallow up all the reſt.

THESE princes having joined their troops before Achmet had drawn his out of their winter quarters, advanced as far as the plains of Laranda in the furtheſt parts of Cappadocia. Bajazet was ſurpriſed to hear that his brother was returned out of Egypt to diſpute the empire with him again. His crown, and even his life were at ſtake, and depended upon oppoſing their meaſures. Achmet indeed was at the head of a great body of troops, able to fight the enemy; but a diſtruſt, natural enough to weak men, made him apprehenſive that that general might poſſibly be bribed to go over to his brother: beſides, his miniſters, who were jealous of the glory which the vizier had in this war, repreſented to that prince, that in a quarrel which was perſonal in reſpect to him, and of ſuch mighty importance, his ſoldiers would have an ill opinion of his valour,

lour, was he not to ſhew himſelf at the head of his army. Theſe conſiderations determined him to paſs the Boſphorus: he entered into Aſia: his army conſiſted of an hundred thouſand men: that of Achmet was near as numerous. After his having joined the ſultan, that prince would needs make a review of all his troops; Achmet appeared at their head, but Bajazet obſerving, inſtead of wearing his ſword or ſcymitar by his ſide, that it was only tied to the pommel of his horſe's ſaddle, cried out, "My protector, you have a great "memory, forget the faults of my youth, put your "ſword again by your ſide, and employ it with your "accuſtomed valour againſt our enemies."

In order to the right underſtanding of this paſſage, it is neceſſary to call to mind what has been already obſerved relating to Mahomet the ſecond's war againſt Perſia. Bajazet, who was then young, followed him in that expedition, and had likeways a particular command over a body of troops. The ſultan his father, who had no great opinion either of his capacity or valour, ſome hours before the engagement began, ordered Achmet to viſit the line where Bajazet commanded, and ſee if his troops were drawn up in order of battle. But that officer, finding them all in confuſion, could not help reproaching him in pretty harſh terms, "Is it in this manner, Sir, ſays the old warrior to him, "that a prince who has a mind to vanquiſh, ſhould "draw up his ſoldiers?" Bajazet, vexed at this reproach, told him, the time would come when he would make him repent his inſolence. "And what "will you do? replied the haughty Achmet, I ſwear "by my father's ſoul, that if you ever come to the "empire, I will never gird ſword to my ſide for your "ſervice.

Such was the occaſion of Achmet's appearing at the review with his ſword tied to the pommel of his horſe's ſaddle. But Bajazet ſtood in too much need of his valour and experience, not to endeavour to make him forget that little quarrel. Peace was ſoon made between that prince and his general: they had now

nothing

nothing more to think of but to go in queſt of the enemy. They pretend that Bajazet's general defeated Zizim in a ſecond battle: other authors ſay, that the allies being too weak to keep the field, retired into the ſtreights of mount Taurus upon the arrival of Bajazet.

BAJAZET, vexed that his brother had eſcaped him, ſent to make him other propoſals, with a view of ſurpriſing him; and beſides the offer he had before made him of the entire ſovereignty of a province, he made him a new one of a penſion of 200000 crowns of gold, a prodigious ſum at that time. "I want an "empire, replied Zizim in an haughty manner to his "brother's envoy, and not money." Beſides, this prince was not fool enough to be dazzled with theſe propoſitions, ſince he ſaw that at the ſame time that he expreſſed a deſire of adjuſting things with him in an amicable manner, Achmet was inſenſibly ſeizing on all the ſtreights of the mountains, and endeavouring to ſecure all the paſſes of them to prevent his eſcape. The Caramanian prince told him the danger to which they were going to be expoſed, if they ſtayed any longer in that place; and both of them, not having forces ſufficient to oppoſe thoſe of Bajazet, they agreed to diſperſe them till ſuch time as that prince ſhould return to Conſtantinople, their troops being of no other uſe than to make them be purſued; and both of them to retire to places where they might be in ſecurity, either through the obſcurity of them, or by the power of the prince to whoſe court they ſhould retire.

ZIZIM's firſt ſcheme was to hide himſelf with a few perſons in the remoteſt corner of the mountains. The Caramanian was of a different opinion: he told him, that he could never be ſafe enough in a cavern againſt the ſearch his brother was making after him; that it was his intereſt to preſerve his ſecret partiſans, that they ſhould believe him to be alive, and ſtill in a diſpoſition to return and diſpute the empire: and that further, his ſentiments were, that he ſhould apply himſelf to the grand maſter of Rhodes, in whoſe domini-

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ons he might be more ſecure, and live with greater dignity; and alſo might, by means of the knights, who roved over all the Aſiatick ſeas, be informed of every thing that paſſed at Conſtantinople, and over all the eaſt.

ZIZIM followed this advice, and diſpatched one of the noblemen that adhered to his perſon and fortune to the grand maſter, to deſire him to grant him protection in his territories. But this envoy was ſeized by one of Bajazet's party, who ſaw by his brother's letters the deſign he had formed of retiring among the Chriſtians. Whereupon he immediately ſent ſome detachments to force the prince his brother in the faſtneſſes he was retired to, and at the ſame time ordered others to ſecure all the paſſes that led to any port of Lycia; and flattered himſelf that he ſhould ſhut him up ſo cloſe, that it would be impoſſible for him to eſcape. Zizim, not ſeeing his firſt agent return, diſpatched two others to Rhodes, with the ſame commiſſion to the grand maſter, to deſire of him a retreat in his dominions, together with a ſafe conduct, to aſſure him of a full liberty of coming in and going out of them at all times. The prince afterwards quitted mount Taurus; and the Caramanian ſerving him for a guide, he drew near the ſea coaſt to wait an anſwer from Rhodes. The grand maſter, in concert with the council, and after mature deliberations, thought it would be for the honour and even the intereſt of the order, not to refuſe an aſylum to ſo great a prince. Upon which a ſquadron of ſhips was immediately ordered to go to receive him, and don Alvares de Zuniga grand prior of Caſtile, was intruſted with this commiſſion and the ſafe conduct, which was drawn up in the form that Zizim's embaſſadors had deſired it.

THIS commodore ſet ſail about the ſame time that Zizim and the Caramanian prince, ſeeing themſelves purſued by the ſpahis, reſolved to part, after having firſt embraced each other tenderly, and ſworn an inviolable friendſhip. The Caramanian threw himſelf again into the mountains, from whence he made his way to ſome

fortreſſes that were ſtill left him. The Turkiſh prince waited by the ſea ſide in expectation of news from Rhodes; but ſeeing a ſquadron of ſpahis coming up, he got into a bark, which the Caramanian prince, for fear of a ſurpriſe, had kept always in a readineſs, and lay concealed behind a rock.

SCARCE had Zizim put off from the ſhore when he ſaw the troop of ſpahis appear on the coaſt, who came but a few moments too late The prince ſeeing himſelf out of danger, lay by with his bark, and taking his bow, let fly an arrow with a letter tied to it, directed to his brother, and expreſſed almoſt in theſe terms.

KING ZIZIM,

TO KING BAJAZET HIS INHUMAN BROTHER,

" GOD and our great prophet are witneſſes of the " ſhameful neceſſity you reduce me to of taking re- " fuge among the Chriſtians. After having deprived " me of the juſt right I had to the empire, you purſue " me ſtill from one country to another, and have not " reſted till you have forced me, for the ſafety of my " life, to ſeek an aſylum with the knights of Rhodes, " the irreconcileable enemies of our auguſt houſe. If " the ſultan our father could have foreſeen that you " would have thus profaned the honourable name of " the Ottomans, he would have ſtrangled you with " his own hands; but I hope that ſince he is gone, " heaven will avenge your cruelty, and I only wiſh to " live to be a witneſs to your puniſhment.

THE commander of this troop of ſpahis took the letter, and vexed that he had miſſed his prey, carried it to Bajazet. 'Tis ſaid, that as he was reading it, he could not help ſhedding a few tears, which nature forced from him againſt his inclinations. Zizim at the ſame time ſtood off to ſea, and ſailed towards Rhodes, to ſee if he could have any news of the embaſſadors whom he had ſent to the grand maſter. The unfortunate prince, uncertain of his fate, was wandering up and down

down thoſe ſeas, as chance might direct his courſe, when he diſcovered a ſquadron that came full ſail, bending their courſe towards the coaſt of Lycia. The fear he was in leſt they ſhould be ſome ſhips that his brother had ſent to intercept his paſſage to Rhodes, made him order the pilot to get as faſt as he could to land and put him on ſhore again. But at a certain diſtance, diſtinguiſhing the flag of Rhodes, and making the ſignals he had concerted with his embaſſadors, they came up to him in a ſhallop with a knight, whom Don Alvares de Zuniga ſent in company with the embaſſadors, to aſſure him in the grand maſter's name, that he ſhould be very welcome in the iſle of Rhodes. This knight told him, that the commodore of the ſquadron, who was lieutenant-general to the grand maſter, was ſent on purpoſe to convoy him ſafe thither. Zuniga advanced afterwards to ſalute the prince, went into his bark and preſented him the grand maſter's letter and ſafe conduct. After the uſual compliments and ceremonies were over, he put him on board a great ſhip that was under his command, and ſailed for Rhodes, where he ſoon arrived. The grand maſter had no ſooner notice of it, but he ſent the oldeſt commanders of the order to receive him, and went himſelf out of his palace to meet him almoſt as far as the harbour: they joined hands at meeting. The grand maſter, after having, by the aſſiſtance of an interpreter, repeated all the aſſurances that he had already given him by his ſafe conduct, waited upon him to the French inn, which was aſſigned for his lodging: in their way thither he gave him the right hand, which Zizim perceiving, was for giving it him, and told him, it did not become captives to take place of their patrons; "Sir, replied "the grand maſter to him very obligingly, captives of "your quality have the firſt rank every where, and "would to God you had as much power in Conſtan-"tinople as you have in Rhodes."

THE grand maſter, after having conducted him to his apartment, left him to the care of ſome commanders and officers of his houſhold, who endeavoured, by their

their politeneſs and noble entertainments, to divert him from muſing on his misfortunes, which ſeemed to employ all his thoughts. Matthew Boſio, a canon of Verona, who ſaw him ſome years afterwards, and obſerved him with great attention, repreſents him in one of his letters, which has been tranſmitted to us, as a man who had all the air of a barbarian, and of a ſavage and cruel prince. His ſtature, ſays he, is a little above the middle ſize; his body thick and well ſet; he has broad ſhoulders, a prominent belly, ſtrong and nervous arms, a large head, ſquinting eyes, and a Roman noſe, ſo hooked at the end that it almoſt touches his upper lip, which is covered with a large whisker. In a word, ſays this author, he is the exact picture of his father Mahomet; and ſuch indeed as he is repreſented in ſeveral of his medals that have fallen into my hands.

THE knights omitted nothing that might contribute to divert the prince. There were every day parties of hunting, turnaments, feaſts and concerts of muſick; but this laſt kind of diverſion did not much affect the ſultan; and though they entertained him with excellent voices, he did not ſeem to take any pleaſure in that agreeable muſick. To pleaſe his goût, they reſolved to ſend for a Turkiſh ſlave, who with an harſh and inharmonious voice, but accompanied at the ſame time with wry faces, and the moſt groteſque poſtures, was the only perſon that had the knack of pleaſing him.

IN the mean time the reſidence of a gueſt of ſuch conſequence gave no little uneaſineſs to the grand maſter. He did not queſtion but that Bajazet, as ſoon as he knew the place where he had fled for ſhelter, would do his utmoſt to oblige the order to deliver him into his hands. This they could not refuſe without bringing all the forces of the Ottoman empire a ſecond time into the iſland; and the grand maſter's word, his ſafe conduct, and even his natural generoſity, made him incapable of taking ſuch a ſtep, and delivering him up to his cruel enemy.

WHILST

WHILST d'Aubuſſon was in no little inquietude by reaſon of theſe various conſiderations, an envoy arrived from the governor of Lycia, a province, as we have obſerved, ſeparated from Rhodes only by a canal of about eighteen miles broad. This envoy, under pretence of propoſing a trading truce and liberty of commerce between the grand maſter's ſubjects and the people of his government, was come to ſee whether Zizim was retired to Rhodes, and in what manner the grand maſter treated him. The grand maſter received him handſomely, and did not ſeem at all averſe to the propoſals which they made him. But the envoy, who had other views, under pretence that he expected new orders from his maſter, ſpun out the negotiation; and they ſoon diſcovered the main deſign of his voyage. The grand maſter, in order to rid himſelf as ſoon as poſſible of a priviledged ſpy, ſpeedily put an end to his treaty, and ſent him back to his maſter. But ſcarce had he parted with him when another arrived, who brought him a letter from the baſha Achmet. The grand ſeignior, not caring to expoſe himſelf to a refuſal, had enjoined him to ſet on foot a new negotiation with the grand maſter, as from himſelf. That miniſter, who, by the important ſervices that he had lately done Bajazet, governed his empire at that time with an abſolute authority, wrote to the grand maſter, exhorting him to make a ſolid and laſting treaty of peace with the porte, for which he offered his credit and good offices, in caſe he would ſend embaſſadors to Conſtantinople.

The grand maſter ſaw plainly through the artifice, and that theſe ſeveral negotiators had no deſign but only to get into Rhodes, and find out ſome means to diſpatch Zizim, either by ſword or poiſon. Though the prince of Rhodes looked upon them as aſſaſſins, yet as they were inveſted, or rather maſked with a publick character, no notice was taken of their deſigns. All that the law of nations and prudence allowed to be done on this occaſion, was to diſmiſs theſe envoys as ſoon as poſſible; and all the anſwer that the grand

maſter gave the baſha was, that provided they dropped all talk of tribute, he might poſſibly in ſome time ſend embaſſadors to the porte to treat about a laſting peace. Several councils after this were held at Rhodes, to conſider of the conduct the order ought to obſerve in ſo nice an affair.

IN all theſe preliminaries the leaſt mention was not made of Zizim, notwithſtanding which, the grand maſter eaſily perceived that the deſign of the negotiation related always to the perſon of that prince, and that if his brother could not get him into his power by way of treaty, he would either take care to get him poiſoned, or would attack him by open force, ſo that they might ſoon ſee all the forces of the Ottomans over-running the iſle of Rhodes a ſecond time. They held ſeveral councils on this ſubject, and in order not to let a pledge of ſuch value go out of their hands, they reſolved, both for the prince's own ſafety, and till ſuch time as they might ſee how affairs would go in the eaſt, to ſend him into France, to reſide upon ſome commandry of the order.

THE grand maſter, in order to reconcile him to this ſtep, repreſented to him, that it was his intereſt to ſhelter himſelf for ſome time from his brother's eager purſuits: that whatever precautions the order ſhould take, his life could never be ſecure at Rhodes, where ſo many renegado Greeks could eaſily get in by means of their language, and find means to diſpatch him by ſword or poiſon, notwithſtanding all the precautions that the order might take: whereas, whilſt he was at a diſtance; the order, which was entering into a negotiation with the ſultan, might find opportunities to take care of his intereſts, and that he himſelf would undertake to give him a full account of all that paſſed at the porte in relation to him.

THE Turkiſh prince ſeeing no remedy, conſented to every thing they propoſed to him. He likeways, before his ſetting out, left a full power with the grand maſter to treat with Bajazet in his name, upon ſuch terms as ſhould be moſt for his advantage and ſecurity.

This

This was not the only inſtrument he ſigned; he executed another, wherein, after reciting all the obligations he had to the grand maſter and his order, he engaged himſelf, in caſe he ever recovered the empire, or any conſiderable part of it, to maintain a conſtant peace with the knights, would give their fleets free entrance into all his ports, would ſet three hundred Chriſtians of both ſexes at liberty every year without ranſom, and pay a hundred and fifty thouſand crowns of gold into the treaſury of the order, to reimburſe them the expences they had been at on his account. This inſtrument, ſigned with his own hand, is ſtill kept in the archives of Malta, and is dated the fifth day of the month of Regeb, in the 887th year of the Hegira, which anſwers, according to our way of computation, to the 31ſt of Auguſt A. D. 1482. 1482. The prince went afterwards on board, under the convoy of the chevalier de Blanchefort, the grand maſter's nephew, who employed all the care and complaiſance imaginable, to divert the melancholy with which the prince was ſeized at leaving his own country, and paſſing into a foreign land.

WHILST he was ſailing towards France, the grand maſter, purſuant to the promiſe he had given Achmet, ſent the knights Guy de Mont-Arnaud and Duprat as his embaſſadors to Conſtantinople. Bajazet, who ſaw that his brother's fortune was entirely in the grand maſter's power, was exceedingly pleaſed at their arrival. They were received with great honours, and he appointed commiſſioners to treat of a peace, naming for that purpoſe the vizier Achmet and Miſach Paleologus, who, after Mahomet's death, having declared in favour of Bajazet, was on that account recalled to the porte. The negotiation had like to have miſcarried at the very opening of the conference. Achmet inſiſted by way of preliminary, that the grand maſter ſhould acknowledg himſelf for a vaſſal of the grand ſeignior, and as ſuch ſhould pay him an annual tribute. This propoſition was rejected with a noble diſdain by the two embaſſadors. The vizier, the proudeſt man living,

ing, told them, that his maſter would go in perſon at the head of an hundred thouſand men to levy the tribute himſelf: the embaſſadors upon theſe menaces were for breaking off the conference and retiring: but the baſha Paleologus telling the vizier in the Turkiſh language, that he ſhould conſider that the ſultan would have the treaty concluded at any rate, the negotiation was reſumed, and the two knights ſhewed the greater conſtancy and reſolution, becauſe Duprat, who underſtood the Turkiſh language, was thereby made acquainted with the grand ſeignior's intentions. Achmet did not inſiſt any longer on that demand; but as he thought his maſter would diſhonour himſelf by ſuch a treaty, he left the management of it to Paleologus.

THEY were next to come to the principal point which the ſultan had moſt at heart. It related to the perſon of his brother, and his miniſters demanded that he ſhould be delivered up into his hands. The embaſſadors knew that this would be delivering him up to be executed, and therefore rejected ſuch an odious propoſal with indignation. In fine, they agreed, that the grand maſter ſhould engage to keep that prince always in his power under a good guard of knights, and ſhould not deliver him to any prince whatever, either Chriſtian or Infidel, that could make uſe of his name and pretenſions to diſturb the quiet of the empire; that for the maintenance and guard of the prince, the ſultan ſhould yearly remit thirty five thouſand Venetian ducats to the order; and beſides this ſum, he ſhould likewiſe pay the grand maſter ten thouſand ducats more every year by way of ſatisfaction for the ravages that Mahomet's army had made in the iſle of Rhodes. Peace being ſettled on theſe conditions, the treaty was ſigned by the ſultan, who ſent one of his principal miniſters, called Capitain, to Rhodes, to receive the grand maſter's ratification.

THE vizier, who was naturally haughty, could not hear the leaſt mention of the penſions which the ſultan was obliged to pay every year, without the higheſt indignation. He complained publickly, that they had pro-

proſtituted the honour of the empire by this ſcandalous treaty; and in his exclamations againſt it, he could not help dropping ſome ſharp invectives againſt the perſon of his maſter himſelf. The ſultan was ſoon informed of it: There is never wanting in all courts a ſet of men who make it their buſineſs to ruin their enemies, by giving the worſt conſtruction to their words, and miſrepreſenting them in the moſt artful manner. Achmet had a very dangerous one in the perſon of a baſha, Iſaac by name, whoſe daughter he had formerly married. She was the very Turkiſh lady that Mahomet's eldeſt ſon fell ſo deſperately in love with, and to whom her huſband in the fury of his paſſion pretended he had offered violence. The reader may have obſerved in the beginning of this book, that Mahomet, who would allow nobody to be a tyrant in his dominions but himſelf, had, under pretence of doing Achmet juſtice, put that young prince to death, fearing that his paſſion might put him upon ſome attempt againſt his own perſon. Achmet, as Cæſar had acted formerly, without caring to examine into his wife's conduct, had divorced her; which his father-in-law reſented ſo heinouſly, that he reſolved to be revenged. This baſha did not let ſlip the occaſion that Achmet's imprudence furniſhed him with: he informed the ſultan of the vizier's murmurings and invectives, and aggravated them with all the ill natured turns that courtiers are laviſh enough in beſtowing; and under a feigned zeal for his prince's ſervice, he inſinuated to him, that as the vizier was ſo very powerful, and in a manner adored by the ſoldiers, he could not have uttered ſuch taunts and reflections without deſigning ſome inſurrection.

IN a caſe of this nature, eſpecially in a deſpotick government like that of the Turks, bare ſuſpicion is a crime. Bajazet, ever jealous and diffident, as all weak perſons are, reſolved to diſpatch the vizier, in order to prevent the deſigns with which they charged him from taking effect: beſides, the daily ſight of a man, the greatneſs of whoſe ſervices exceeded all the recompences he could make him, was offenſive to his eyes. Orders were given to invite moſt of the grandees of the

porte

porte to a magnificent entertainment that Bajazet was to give them. They there drank very copiously of wine, notwithſtanding the expreſs prohibition of their law. The ſultan, who had his private deſigns, and had a mind to make the vizier talk, brought up a diſcourſe relating to the peace he had juſt concluded with the grand maſter; and added, that ſince he had no more enemies to oppoſe, he thought to leſſen the pay of the ſoldiery, and break ſome officers that were not well affected to the government. Achmet, the father of the ſoldiery, and naturally haughty and paſſionate, immediately took fire, and elevated with the fumes of wine, told him plainly, that the affection of the ſoldiery was the ſureſt ſupport of the throne, and that thoſe who ſhould adviſe a ſultan, eſpecially one who had a brother ſtill living, to incenſe his troops, would be evil counſellors. They pretend, that as ſoon as he had ſpoke theſe words, a mute who was poſted there on purpoſe, upon a ſign that the ſultan made him, ſtabbed him with a dagger to the heart. Other authors give a different account of what paſſed at the death of this miniſter, which they tell us was delayed for ſome time. According to theſe writers, Bajazet, before he diſmiſſed the baſhas, that he might end the magnificence of the feaſt with an act of liberality, preſented every one of them with a brocade veſt, and a cup filled with pieces of gold; but that they put only a black robe before the vizier, who looked upon it as an ill omen of the fate that attended him; and he was confirmed in his ſentiments, when, as he was going out after the reſt, the ſultan ordered him to ſtay, pretending that he had an affair of importance to communicate to him. Achmet no longer doubting but he was going to be ſtrangled, cried out in a rage, "Cruel tyrant, ſince you re-"ſolved to put me to death, why did you firſt force "me to offend God by drinking a forbidden liquor?"

By Bajazet's order, they began to load him with ſtripes, after which the mutes prepared to ſtrangle him. But the chief of the eunuchs, who was his particular friend, ſeeing his maſter drunk with wine and anger, threw

threw himſelf at his feet. " Sir, ſaid he to him, be " not ſo haſty to put him to death: you know that he " is the darling of the janizaries: wait only till to mor- " row, to ſee how they will receive the news of his " death, and then diſpoſe of him as you pleaſe."

FEAR, the ſtrongeſt principle of action in a weak and timorous prince, had its uſual effect on Bajazet. He put off Achmet's death, and ordered him to be thrown half naked and loaden with irons into a dungeon. His ſon, who waited at the gate of the ſeraglio, not ſeeing him come out, enquired of the other baſhas for him; but they were moſt of them ſo drunk, that all that he could get out of them was, that the grand ſeignior ſeemed to be angry with him. The young lord trembling for his life, runs to the guard-houſe of the janizaries, and the vaſt pile of building where they are quartered when not upon duty, when burſting out into tears, and directing his diſcourſe to the oldeſt of them, " My dear companions, ſaid he to them, the " ſultan has juſt now cauſed my father to ſeized: will " you, brave ſoldiers, ſuffer them to butcher your ge- " neral, with whom you have eat bread and ſalt for ſo " many years?"

AT this news the janizaries run to arms, gather into a body, march ſtraight to the ſeraglio, and with great cries demand the gates to be opened*: the noiſe of the tumult ſoon paſſes into Bajazet's apartment. The prince, after conſidering what meaſures he ſhould take, fearing that the ſoldiers might dethrone him in their fury, appeared at a window with a bow in his hand, " What do you require, my companions," ſays he to them, " and what is the occaſion of this tumult?" " You ſhall know immediately, cried they, You " drunken dog, where is Achmet? we'll either ſee him, " or find out a means of revenging his death." The fearful ſultan ſeeing all the ſoldiery enraged and incenſed againſt him, " Achmet, ſays he to them, is in my " ſeraglio, and alive. I have only kept him with me " to confer with him about ſome affairs of conſe- " quence." The ſultan was ſo terrified at the looks and

* Chalcondile vie de Bajazet II.

and threats of the janizaries that he ordered him to be brought out to them immediately. He appeared at the gate of the ſeraglio bareheaded, his legs uncovered, and without any cloaths on but a waiſtcoat only, juſt like a man who was ordered for execution. The janizaries, provoked to ſee that great captain treated in ſo ſhameful a manner, ſnatched a turbant from one of the principal officers of the porte, and put it upon Achmet's head. They commanded at the ſame time a veſt to be brought him, and when he was dreſt they carried him to his palace with great acclamations, and as if they had gained ſome ſignal victory.

THE vizier, either from a greatneſs of ſoul, or elſe out of apprehenſions that this affection of the ſoldiers would be imputed to him as a freſh crime, deſired them to uſe their advantages with more moderation. "Bajazet, ſays he to them, "is our ſovereign: and "who knows but I have merited his indignation by "ſome fault I may have committed!" In fine, he at length by his intreaties prevailed to quiet the ſedition: but his own experience taught him, that there is no getting an advantage over one's own ſovereign that does not prove fatal to its author in the end. Bajazet diſſembled his reſentment for ſome time. The vizier ſeemed to be reſtored to his favour; but in a journey which the court made to Adrianople, at a time when all his apprehenſions ſeemed to be over, the ſultan caused him to be ſtrangled. Such was the fate of one of the greateſt captains of the Ottoman empire, who, by being thought too neceſſary, became ſuſpected to his maſter, and odious to the other baſhas.

WHILST this tragical ſcene was acting at the porte, Zizim arrived ſafe on the coaſts of Provence. The grand maſter had ſent an embaſſador before him to Lewis XI who then ſat on the throne of France, to deſire leave for the prince to come into his dominions, and reſide there for ſome time. The king, who did not concern himſelf in the affairs of the eaſt readily conſented to it. Zizim, according to Jalgni a contemporary hiſtorian, was firſt carried into the province of la Marche, to the

caſtle

caſtle of a lord of that province, called Boiſſami, the grand maſter's brother-in-law, whoſe ſiſter Souveraine d'Aubuſſon he had married. The prince, after making ſome ſtay in this place, retired to the commandry of Bourgneuf; and the knights, who under pretence of keeping him company, were in reality his guards, lodged him in a tower, built on purpoſe to ſecure him againſt the enterprizes of Bajazet, though perhaps it was deſigned likewiſe to prevent his getting out of their hands, and making his eſcape, as ſome time after they had reaſon to ſuſpect.

IN ſhort, this unfortunate prince, inſtead of the good reception and ſuccours which he had flattered himſelf he ſhould receive from the king of France, was uneaſy to find himſelf at a diſtance from his country and his friends, baniſhed into a foreign land, and confined in a ſort of priſon: and how careful ſoever the knights who guarded him might be to divert him, yet he could not help looking upon them as his goalers, and the mortal enemies of his houſe. Theſe reflections threw him into a deep melancholy, which was ſoon followed by a dangerous illneſs, that made them fear his life was in danger.

ONE of the knights, whoſe buſineſs it was to guard him, being concerned for his misfortunes, and deſirous to expel, if poſſible, the deep melancholy that had ſpread it ſelf over his ſoul, adviſed him to deſire an interview with the king of France, and encouraged him to hope that he might in a conference engage that prince to intereſt himſelf in his misfortunes, and obtain from him a ſufficient number of forces that might enable him to try the fortune of war once more.

THE prince, like all unfortunate perſons, was overjoyed at the firſt glimpſe of hope which they gave him, and ſignified to the king of France, that he deſired a conference with him. The king, who was entirely taken up with what paſſed in his neighbours territories, eſpecially among the Engliſh and at the duke of Burgundy's court, troubled himſelf very little about the affairs of the eaſt. However, to maintain his charac-

ter of the moſt Chriſtian king, he anſwered the prince, that he would really have been very glad to ſee him, and to intereſt himſelf in his affairs as became a ſovereign, did not religion put an invincible obſtacle in the way; but that if he would turn Chriſtian, and abjure the errors in which he had been unhappily educated, he would engage to ſend him back to his own dominions at the head of a mighty army, which ſhould not be inferior either in excellent officers, or in number of troops, to all the forces of the Ottoman empire; and in caſe he did not think proper of trying the fortune of war once more, France offered to give him lands and lordſhips within itſelf, ſufficient to maintain him with a ſplendor and dignity ſuitable to his birth.

THE Turkiſh prince ſoon diſcovered, that this propoſal was no more than a polite pretence to excuſe himſelf from agreeing to the interview he had deſired, and granting the ſuccours which he had flattered himſelf he ſhould have. To omit the prejudices of education, was he only to conſider his intereſt according to the maxims of human policy, he could not quit the ſect of Mahomet, without being conſidered as a renegado among the Mahometans, and ſeeing himſelf abandoned by his beſt friends and all his partizans; ſo that the prince, without laying aſide all thoughts of ſuccour from France, turned all his hopes towards the eaſt, whence he expected news with the utmoſt impatience. He was not long without receiving ſome advices, but they were not very agreeable to him; for he heard with equal ſurpriſe and uneaſineſs, that the knights of Rhodes, the eternal enemies of the Ottomans, had, after ſeveral negotiations that had been treated at Conſtantinople and Rhodes, agreed at laſt on a treaty, the very baſis and purchaſe of which, unhappily for him, was the loſs of his liberty: that the grand maſter, forgetting his ſafe conduct and the promiſe he had ſolemnly given him, had engaged to keep him always at a diſtance, and under a guard of knights that ſhould be anſwerable for him ſo long as the Turks ſhould not violate the treaty; and that Bajazet on his

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ſide was obliged to pay five and forty thouſand ducats yearly to the grand maſter and the order. The treaty was varniſhed over by thoſe who drew it up, with all thoſe ſpecious pretences which princes are ſeldom at a loſs to invent, but which after all did not skreen the order from the reproach of having violated its ſafe conduct.

BAJAZET payed this ſum very exactly, and indeed before hand; and in hopes of gaining the grand maſter's friendſhip entirely, he ſent him a little after the right hand of St. John the Baptiſt, patron of the order, which had been brought formerly from Antioch to Conſtantinople; upon the taking of which laſt city, Mahomet had ordered it to be put into his treaſury, probably for the richneſs of the ſhrine, in order to ſell the relick itſelf to ſome Chriſtian prince. Though the Turks look upon our veneration for the dead bodies of ſaints as idolatry, yet Bajazet ſent it with great ceremony to Rhodes: a manifeſt inſtance, that religion hath much leſs the aſcendant over moſt ſovereigns, than intereſts of ſtate.

HOWEVER, as liberty is the firſt and moſt valuable bleſſing of mankind, it is no wonder that the unhappy Zizim ſhould be ſtruck with the moſt violent grief, when he found that his had been put to ſale, and that they had meanly bartered it for gold. The treaty threw him into a rage that can hardly be expreſſed: he wiſhed for death as the only period of ſo terrible a misfortune; and they were every moment afraid leſt he ſhould make away with himſelf in the fits of his paſſion. In vain did the knights ſet over him for his guard, labour to comfort him, by repreſenting, that whatever had been tranſacted at Conſtantinople and Rhodes, was meant purely for his ſafety, and to prevent his falling into the hands of an implacable enemy. They repreſented to him, that his confinement would not be near ſo long as he imagined; that he ought to hope for great matters from time, and that ſome conjuncture would infallibly preſent itſelf, when the grand maſter might be able to reſtore him to his dominions with as

much glory as ſafety. The unfortunate prince was not in a temper to take up with ſuch random and uncertain motives of conſolation: the terrible idea of a perpetual impriſonment was ever preſenting itſelf to his imagination, and all the arguments and civilites of his guards could not baniſh it a ſingle moment from his mind.

THE noiſe that his grief made, ſoon paſſed beyond the bounds of his priſon. Some perſons who were ill affected to the order, took occaſion from thence of blaming the grand maſter's conduct. They ſaid it was inhumane to ſell the liberty of a prince from whom at moſt they could have demanded but a ranſom. Others went further, and ſaid it was aſtoniſhing, that ſo noble an order, and a ſet of knights who were eternal enemies to the Mahometans, ſhould for the lucre of a ſum of money, turn goalers under Bajazet, and let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of kindling a war among thoſe infidels, which all the enemies of the Ottomans might have made their advantage of.

CAOURSIN, vice-chancellor of the order, a contemporary hiſtorian, and who was at Rhodes at this time, hath endeavoured to make an apology for the knights, by repreſenting the advantages which (ſays he) the Chriſtian princes derived from the confinement of this Ottoman prince: and that author, who was in all likelihood no very ſcrupulous perſon, in order to juſtify the grand maſter's breach of faith, maintains that it was a much leſs evil to act in that manner, than, by obſerving ſtrictly the ſafe conduct, to bring the arms of Bajazet upon the iſle of Rhodes, and the other ſtates of Chriſtendom. But if we follow Jaligni, another contemporary hiſtorian, the grand maſter never gave any ſafe conduct, nor o much as his bare word[a]. Zizim, as we may ſee in this hiſtorian, was a lawful priſoner, in conſequence of which, the grand maſter might diſpoſe of his liberty as he judged proper for the good of his order.

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[a] Guillaume de Jaligni, p. 62, 63, 65, Edit. de Louvre.

As theſe two contemporary hiſtorians, one of them the grand maſter's miniſter and confident, the other ſecretary to Peter de Bourbon, contradict one another in the ſame fact, we have not met with matter ſufficient in either of the two writers to clear up the point, ſo that we might determine it on any ſide with certainty: But whether Zizim was a lawful priſoner of war, or whether the knights, under pretence of not incenſing ſo formidable a prince as the ſultan, broke their ſafe conduct, it cannot be denied, but that pope Sixtus IV. Ferdinand king of Caſtile, Arragon and Sicily, another Ferdinand of the ſame houſe, king of Naples, the Venetians, and above all the reſt Matthias Corvin, ſon to Huniades, and at that time king of Hungary, a great captain, and, like his father, the terror of the Turks, uſed very preſſing inſtances with the grand maſter, to put Zizim at the head of their forces, in hopes of making uſe of his name to raiſe up the ſecret partiſans he had in the Ottoman empire. Indeed moſt of theſe princes were divided; ſome were actually making war upon one another; and we muſt do this juſtice to the grand maſter, who was as great a politician as he was a captain, that he was afraid leſt if the war againſt the Turk ſhould not prove ſucceſsful, ſome might be found perfidious, or at leaſt weak enough to purchaſe their peace of Bajazet, by delivering up his brother and enemy to him. The grand maſter made a much more commendable uſe of the power he had over the perſon of Zizim: and merely by the fear in which he kept the grand ſeignior, leſt he ſhould ſet that prince at the head of all the forces of the order, and produce him to the malecontents that were very numerous in his dominions, he tied up the hands of that mighty prince, kept his forces as it were in chains, and by this means prevented him, during his brother's life, from falling upon Italy, and turning his arms againſt the Chriſtian princes.

THE pope impatient to ſee the Chriſtian princes unite their arms againſt the infidels, was perſuaded, that

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if he once had Zizim's perſon in his power, he might eaſily make all the powers of Europe join their forces againſt the Turks. This pontiff had juſt ſucceeded Sixtus IV. by the name of Innocent VIII. He was a
1484 Genoeſe by birth, of the illuſtrious houſe of Cibo, originally of the iſle of Rhodes, where his father was born. As ſoon as ever he was placed in St. Peter's chair, he notified it to the knights, whom he conſidered as the ſovereigns of his family, and ſent a nuncio on purpoſe to Rhodes, to aſſure them of the eſteem and affection he had for an order ſo illuſtrious, and withal ſo ſerviceable to the Chriſtian world. But the nuncio declared at the ſame time to the grand maſter, that his holineſs, for the good of Chriſtendom, and to keep the Turk in awe, would be glad to have prince Zizim ſent to Rome, or at leaſt to ſome ſtrong hold in Italy.

THE grand maſter repreſented to the nuncio, that they had reaſon to fear ſuch a ſtep might give great jealouſy to Bajazet; and that that prince, in order to revenge himſelf, and prevent the pope's deſigns, might fall with all his forces upon Italy. Beſides, that by taking Zizim out of the hands of the knights, they might give the world occaſion to ſuſpect that they did not behave themſelves well towards him, which would be a great diſhonour to his order. The nuncio tranſmitted theſe reaſons to Rome; but the pope was inflexible, and made new inſtances, that they would ſend orders immediately to the chevalier de Blanchefort, then grand prior of Auvergne, to conduct the Turkiſh prince himſelf to Rome. The grand maſter, to ſhew his deference to the pope's orders, named two embaſſadors to wait upon his holineſs, and choſe for that purpoſe Philip de Cluys, of the language of France, bailiff of Morea, and William Caoupſin vice-chancellor of the order, the perſon who has left us an hiſtory of all that paſſed at Rhodes in relation to prince Zizim.

WERE we to judge of their conduct in this negotiation by the advantages which they drew from thence,

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we muſt own that they were very able miniſters; for, in exchange for the perſon only of Zizim, which they promiſed to deliver into the pope's hands, they obtained very important privileges. Innocent engaged ſolemnly by this treaty, never to confer any commandries to the prejudice either of the ſeveral languages, or the right of ſeniority, even though they ſhould fall vacant in the court of Rome: and by an expreſs bull in the year 1489, he declared, that the effects and poſſeſſions of the order ſhould not be comprehended in the liſt of benefices that the popes had either reſerved to themſelves, or might afterwards reſerve; and in caſe Bajazet ſhould, out of reſentment at this change, ſtop the payment of Zizim's penſion, he, by another bull, to compenſate the loſs the knights of Rhodes would thereby ſuſtain, ſuppreſſed the orders of the holy ſepulchre, and St. Lazare, which he annexed to that of St. John, to prevent (as the pontiff ſays in his bull) a body of knights ſo neceſſary to Chriſtendom, from being overpowered by the formidable power of the Turks. The grand maſter's own intereſts were not forgot in this treaty; and the pope engaged, as ſoon as prince Zizim ſhould be delivered up to him, to ſend the grand maſter a cardinal's hat, a dignity of great eminence indeed, but not very proper for a warrior, and one eſpecially that was at the ſame time a ſovereign prince.

THE treaty being concluded to the ſatisfaction both of the pope and the grand maſter, they, by concert, ſent embaſſadors to king Charles VIII. the ſon and ſucceſſor of Lewis XI. to communicate it to him, and deſire his conſent. They met with no difficulty from that quarter; but whilſt theſe embaſſadors were ſtill in France, there came another miniſter of the porte, diſpatched by Bajazet to the king. That ſultan, who was continually watching the behaviour of the knights with regard to his brother, was not long without having an account of the deſigns of the pope, and the negotiations of his miniſters. He loſt no time in diſpatching one of his principal officers to traverſe their nego-

negotiation. This embaſſador landing in Provence; notified his arrival immediately to the court, and ſet out on his road thither. But the king following his father's example, and ſcrupling to give audience to an infidel, that miniſter ſtopped at Riez, purſuant to an order he received by an expreſs meſſenger, and was obliged to tranſact the affair by writing, and ſent the propoſals which he was authoriſed to make up to court.

BAJAZET in his letter deſired the king, that ſultan Zizim might be delivered into the hands of the miniſter he ſent, or at leaſt that he would not ſuffer him to go out of his dominions: and in order to engage him to comply with his requeſt, by ſomething more valuable than gold or precious ſtones, he offered him all the relicks that the emperor Mahomet his father had found at the taking of Conſtantinople, and in the whole extent of his empire. He added further, that he was actually in war with the ſoldan of Egypt; that he hoped to drive him ſoon out of Syria, Paleſtine, and the kingdom of Jeruſalem, and that if he ſucceeded in his attempt, he engaged to ſet the laſt of thoſe crowns upon his head, as being the moſt potent prince that followed the law of the Meſſias.

THOUGH the king was young, very couragious, and fond of glory, yet he did not ſuffer himſelf to be allured by this laſt propoſal. Moſt of the Chriſtian princes had been long before that diſcouraged from making thoſe tedious voyages and pious expeditions, which had coſt their anceſtors immenſe ſums, and the pureſt blood of their nobility. They had ſcarce a better opinion of the relicks that came from the eaſt after the plundering of Conſtantinople; and the Greeks had brought ſuch a vaſt number of ſpurious ones among the Latins,[a] that the moſt ſuperſtitious had quite loſt all that eagerneſs and reſpect which is due to the true ones only; ſo that the miniſter of the porte was ſent back,

[a] Obſervations ſur l'hiſt. de Charles VIII. p. 586. edit. du Louvre.

back, as Philip de Comines relates, without ſeeing the king, or being able to obtain any thing from him: But on the other ſide, he ſignified to the agents ſent by the pope and the order, that they might go when they pleaſed; that he gave his conſent to their ſending prince Zizim into Italy; and ſhould be exceedingly pleaſed if the holy father could reap any conſiderable advantages from thence for the good of religion.

THIS prince however, who had a ſecret deſign of carrying his arms one day into the eaſt, and falling upon the Turks, did not give his conſent, but upon condition that Zizim ſhould be always kept under a guard of French knights, and that the pope ſhould oblige himſelf never to deliver him up to any other ſovereign, without his privity and conſent, under the forfeiture of ten thouſand ducats.

THE unfortunate Zizim, after having come from the eaſt into Europe, and from Rhodes into the midſt of Auvergne, was now delivered up to the pope's agents, who carried him into Italy, and arrived there without any obſtacle: and the better to diſguiſe this change of ſlavery, they received him with as much pomp and magnificence as they would have ſhewn at the entry of a Chriſtian king. The Cardinal of Angers, and Franciſquin Cibo, the pope's natural ſon, but got before he entered into holy orders, went to meet him two miles from Rome, and complimented him in the pope's name. Doria, captain of the pope's guards, waited for him at the gate of the town, where the cavalcade began. Some Turks that were Zizim's ſervants, and never would quit him, were the firſt that appeared. Next came the pope's guards, his light horſe, his gentlemen, with thoſe of the cardinals and nobility of Rome. The ſeignior de Faucon, embaſſador of France, heightened the ſplendor of the march by the pompouſneſs of his equipage, and a numerous train of attendants in rich liveries: the vicomte de Monteil, the grand maſter's brother, who had acquired ſo much glory at the ſiege of Rhodes, marched immediately after, abreaſt with Franciſquin Cibo; next advanced

advanced the Turkiſh prince, mounted on a prancing horſe, and followed by the grand prior of Auvergne, and the other knights appointed for his guard. The march was cloſed by the maſter of the pope's chamber, and a crowd of Italian prelates of the pope's court. The Turkiſh prince was conducted into an apartment of the Vatican prepared for him; and the next day the embaſſador of France and the grand prior of Auvergne conducted him to an audience of the pope.

THAT prince, at his coming into the apartment where he was to have audience, ſaw the pope ſeated on his throne, attended by the cardinals and all his court. The prince ſaluted him after the Turkiſh manner; but all the entreaties the maſter of the ceremonies employed, could not prevail upon him to bow his knee, or embrace his feet, as Chriſtian princes do. The pope however did not receive him the leſs graciouſly upon that account. Zizim beſought his protection with as ſtately an air, as if the pontiff had ſtood in need of his. Innocent anſwered him with great mildneſs; and he was afterwards treated with abundance of reſpect, though ſtill guarded by the knights. But as he ſaw a great deal of company, and could eaſier receive news out of Aſia, he thought himſelf leſs unhappy at Rome, than in the tower of Bourgneuf.

THE king of France, for certain private reaſons, intereſted himſelf for the preſervation of Zizim. That prince, who was young, powerful and ambitious, aſpired to the title of emperor. He had a mind to make uſe one day of Zizim, to get Conſtantinople, Romania, and the Morea into his hands. Andrew Palæologus, nephew to the laſt emperor Conſtantine, had yielded up to him all his rights to that empire: and Albania, Greece, and Romania, which had been but lately conquered by Mahomet, and ſtill peopled by Chriſtians, begged and implored his aſſiſtance. The king, in order to fall upon thoſe great provinces, had need of ſome ports in Italy and in the kingdoms of the two Sicilies. His council made him ſenſible of the right he had to the crown of Naples. This right was found-

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ed on the will of Charles IV. king of Sicily and Jeruſalem, nephew to king René, of the houſe of Anjou, who had left his couſin Lewis XI. heir to all his dominions and rights; and after him the dauphin his ſon, who was then upon the throne, and ſtiled Charles VIII. Here was a right clear enough indeed, which wanted nothing but a ſufficient force to render it valid. The king and his council reſolved, before they made an expedition into Greece, to undertake firſt this enterprize. They were likeways encouraged to it by Lodowic Sforza, regent of the dutchy of Milan, and a ſecret enemy of the houſe of Arragon, a branch of which had reigned at Naples near ſixty years.

THE Italian war was reſolved on before any thing was to be undertaken on the ſide of Greece. However, as the king of France foreſaw, that Zizim's perſon would be very neceſſary to him in this laſt expedition, he ſent embaſſadors to pope Innocent; and we find by their inſtructions, that they were ordered to put the pope in mind of the engagements he had entered into with him in relation to the grand ſeignior's brother, that is, of his never diſpoſing of him without his privity and conſent: but theſe negotiations were interrupted by the pope's death, and Zizim, who, during his pontificate, had found ſome alleviation of his ill fortune, was upon his death oppreſſed with a new ſeries of calamities.

CARDINAL Roderigo de Borgia ſucceeded Innocent, by the name of Alexander VI. a pope, if we may call him by that name, that bought the triple crown, and the votes of ſeveral of his collegues with ready money; and who, in order to re-imburſe himſelf the ſums he had laid out after his having got poſſeſſion of it, beſtowed no other reward upon thoſe ſimoniſts than by diſpatching them by ſword and poiſon, or ſending them into a tedious baniſhment. During his pontificate, biſhopricks, benefices, eccleſiaſtical dignities, diſpenſations, the very adminiſtration of the ſacraments, all was venal. He ſold by retail what he had bought by the great, and employed the produce of it in keeping

ing his miſtreſſes: he was not aſhamed to put the purple, ſo often dyed with the blood of martyrs, upon ſeveral of his baſtards, that were polluted with all ſorts of crimes, and whom he had promoted to the dignity of cardinal.

THE unfortunate Zizim being, by the preſent ſituation of his circumſtances, in his power, the tyrant, in order to enable himſelf to diſpoſe of his liberty and life as he pleaſed, took him out of the hands of the knights, whom he diſmiſſed, ſhut him up in the caſtle of St. Angelo, and then ſent advice of it to the grand ſeignior, who, through fear leſt he ſhould ſet him at liberty, engaged to pay him forty thouſand ducats annually: others ſay that Alexander got at leaſt ſixty thouſand a year from him.

MEAN time, the king of France, fond of his firſt deſigns of conqueſt, made extraordinary levies: his army conſiſted of 3600 men of arms 6000 archers, 6000 croſsbows, 8000 pikemen, and as many muſketeers, beſides a prodigious train of artillery. All Italy trembled at the news of this formidable armament. The pope, whom the cardinals in general deſired to have depoſed, was in a fright at the bare noiſe of the march of the French: but as he was an able man, and a great politician he turned his views towards Conſtantinople, and flattered himſelf, that if he was hard preſſed by his enemies, he ſhould be able, ſo long as he was maſter of Zizim's perſon, to get ſtrong ſuccours from Bajazet, both in money and troops, to ſuſtain the war againſt the French.

'TWAS with this view that he ſecretly diſpatched a nuncio, to acquaint him with the deſigns and armament of Charles VIII. We ſee in the inſtructions
1494. given this nuncio, whoſe name was George Bozzarde, that he was directed to tell the grand ſeignior, that the king of France was advancing at the head of a formidable army to take ſultan Gem or Zizim his brother out of his hands, in order to make uſe of his help to dethrone him; that as for himſelf, he was reſolved, in conjunction with the

the king of Naples his ally, to oppoſe his enterpriſe, and hinder him particularly from advancing near Rome; but that he could not maintain war againſt ſo potent a prince without a ſpeedy ſuccour, and that therefore he would oblige him, if he would pay him immediately the forty thouſand ducats that were due to him for the maintenance of the prince his brother. He adds, in this inſtruction to his embaſſador, that he ſhould acquaint the grand ſeignior, that the ſoldan of Egypt, with whom his highneſs was in war, had ſent an embaſſador to offer him immenſe ſums if he would deliver prince Zizim into his hands; but that he had rejected this propoſal, and that nothing ſhould be able to detach him from his intereſts.

THE pope, by this ſubtle turn, and acquainting him with the ſoldan of Egypt's offers, inſinuated to the grand ſeignior, that his brother was expoſed to ſale, that the higheſt bidder would carry it, and that it depended on himſelf only to obtain the preference. Bajazet underſtood his meaning well enough, and as he had no intereſt ſo preſſing as that of getting rid of his brother, we ſee, by his letters to the pope, that he begs him to diſpatch him out of hand, and by his death put an end to the uneaſineſs which would ſet upon his ſpirits as long as he ſhould be living. "Holy father, ſays he "to him, Zizim, as he is impriſoned, cannot be ſaid "to live; he does nothing but languiſh; he is already "more than half dead. 'Twould be doing him a "good office to diſpatch him outright, and ſend him "to enjoy eternal reſt in another world." Thus did that tyrant explain himſelf in writing to another tyrant; and to make him abſolutely reſolve upon the murder he propoſed, he engages himſelf by his letter, that as ſoon as he ſhould have made away with his enemy, to remit him three hundred thouſand ducats, which, ſays he, he may employ in purchaſing conſiderable manors and lordſhips for his children. The pope, who never valued the life of a man in any affair wherein his intereſt was concerned, readily agreed to the conditions

of the treaty. But as he got a tribute of forty thouſand ducats every year that Zizim lived, and alſo by that means kept Bajazet in awe, he thought proper to defer the execution of this treaty till he ſaw the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe of Charles VIII. and whether that prince would be powerful enough in Italy to take his priſoner from him.

BUT he was ſtrangely ſurpriſed to hear, that that prince had already paſſed the Alps, and entered Italy without meeting with any obſtacle or oppoſition. And indeed every thing ſubmitted to him, ſo that there was no occaſion for ſieges or battles. Moſt of the towns ſent at a great diſtance to meet him, to preſent him their keys; and it was commonly ſaid, that he had leſs need of captains than harbingers for this great conqueſt, to go, as was uſual in France, and mark out with their chalk the lodging he was to lie at. Thus that young prince, who was a conqueror before he ſo much as drew his ſword, came on to Rome, and to compleat his good fortune, as if the gates of Rome were not large enough to afford him a ſuitable admittance into the city, the very night of his arrival there tumbled down at leaſt forty yards of the wall, which being very old fell of themſelves.

THE pope, afraid of falling into the hands of that prince, and of being proſecuted as the chief of the ſacred college, ſolicited he might be ſhut up in the caſtle of St. Angelo. 'Twas here that his paſt iniquities preſented themſelves to his imagination, with all their black train of horrors. His infamous debauches, his ſimony, his poiſonings, his murders and his aſſaſſinations pierced him to the quick. The cardinals, who were witneſſes as well as enemies of his vices, the citizens of Rome, and the French ſoldiers, all cried out aloud, that it was their duty to purge both the earth and the church of ſuch a monſter. Though he found himſelf in this terrible ſituation, and abandoned by every body, yet he did not abandon himſelf; and as he was immenſely rich, and had as much dexterity as money,

ney, he oppoſed the ſtorm; and whilſt his enemies looked upon him as an undone man, he, by force of preſents, and the promiſe of a cardinal's hat to Briconnet the king's miniſter, gains him over to his intereſt, and by his credit, moſt of the young prince's favourites at the ſame time: ſo that this great affair was turned into a negotiation, and of a criminal was made a civil cauſe. No more mention was made of the crimes of Alexander; all that was now aimed at was to get him over from the party of the houſe of Arragon. He promiſed every thing they could deſire of him, reſolving to keep his promiſes no longer than a ſuperior power ſhould force him to it. Thus the treaty was ſoon concluded: he engaged to adhere inviolably for the future to the intereſts of France; and for a pledge of his word, gave his ſon the cardinal of Borgia or of Valence in hoſtage; the ſame who was afterwards called the duke of Valentinois, the hero of Machiavel, and who was the moſt profligate man then living, had his father not been alive. By this treaty he was obliged to follow the king to the war for four months, in quality of an hoſtage. And in order not to ſully the honour of the purple, his father inveſted him with the dignity of legate of the holy ſee: but what was ſtill a greater mortification to him than to ſee his ſon follow the banner of France, was his being obliged to deliver Zizim up to the king. We ſee, by the treaty made on this occaſion, that that prince, after the expedition of Naples, had bound himſelf to ſend him back to Rome to the pope; and in the mean time the king was to get him a diſcharge from the grand maſter and council of the order, in the ſame manner as he had given them, when he received Zizim from them; he was likeways, ſo long as the Turkiſh prince lived, to have the forty thouſand ducats to himſelf, which the ſultan paid for his ſubſiſtence; all of them conditions which he ſtipulated with ſo much care, with a view only of ſereening his wicked intentions. For this bloody wretch, in order to keep his promiſe to the Turk, and elude that

which he had given to the king, cauſed Zizim* to be poiſoned before he delivered him up: ſo that the unfortunate prince ended his days the moment he came up with the king at Terracina. The haſty flight of the pope's ſon by night, whom the darkneſs of it favoured to make his eſcape, pointed out the perfidious authors of this murder.

THE fatal news ſoon came to Rhodes, and it ſtruck the grand maſter with horror and aſtoniſhment. He reproached himſelf, and that perhaps juſtly too, for having delivered up to Innocent VIII. a prince that had put himſelf into the hands of the order in confidence of their ſafe conduct, and who, though he had thrown himſelf as a captive into Rhodes, could never in that caſe have been treated otherways than as a priſoner of war. That which encreaſed the grand maſter's grief was, that he was obliged to diſſemble it, and was not allowed to take the vengeance due to ſo horrible a crime. In this great perplexity, the grand prior of Auvergne his nephew brought him letters from the king of France, deſiring him to come to him, that they might conſult together about the deſign he had formed of invading Greece, and falling upon the dominions of the grand ſeignior.

THIS young prince, whom fortune ſeemed to conduct by the hand, had juſt made himſelf maſter of the kingdom of Naples, which young Ferdinand had abandoned to him. The eaſineſs he found in gaining conqueſts which nobody diſputed with him, made him fancy he ſhould have the ſame ſucceſs againſt the Turks. This was the occaſion of his letter to the grand maſter, which was wrote in terms equally civil and urgent. The king told him in a very obliging manner, that he had made choice of him, as one of the greateſt captains of the age, to be his guide in that holy

* Perſtringunt nonnulli Venetos Turcico corruptos auro operam dediſſe, ut veneno Zizimus necaretur: alii autem Alexandrum pontificem carpunt, qui Zizimum lento tabo infectum, Gallo regi tradiderit. Rainaldi Annales Eccleſiaſt. anno 1495.

ly enterpriſe. But the grand maſter was not to be dazzled by theſe encomiums, much leſs by a project that was more pompous than ſolid. This venerable old man, though he reſided in his palace, kept nevertheleſs ſecret intelligences in all the courts of the Chriſtian princes, and even in the ſeraglio of the grand ſeignior. He was aſſured that this prince, now free from the uneaſineſs that his brother had occaſioned him as long as he lived, was then making a powerful armament; and that it was by no means prudent for the grand maſter to leave Rhodes and the iſles of the order in ſuch a juncture. But what prevailed more than any thing elſe to prevent his going, was, that he had certain advices from ſeveral places, that the king, far from being in a condition to paſs into the Levant, would be very happy if he could get back into France; that the army which he had led into Italy was conſiderably leſſened, by the garriſons he had been forced to put into different places, by ſickneſs, and eſpecially by the exceſſes which his ſoldiers had fallen into. That there was moreover a powerful league formed againſt that prince, the pope having been the principal inſtrument in promoting it; that Bajazet had, at the pontiff's ſolicitation, ſent an embaſſador to Venice, to threaten thoſe republicans with a bloody war, if they did not declare themſelves immediately againſt the king of France; that they had entered the more freely into the league, becauſe they did not care to have ſo potent a prince for their neighbour: that their bailo was the very perſon who had given the grand ſeignior the firſt account of the death of the unfortunate Zizim; and that in order to gratify the Turks, they had cauſed the archbiſhop of Durazzo to be ſeized, who, in order to facilitate the conqueſts of Charles the eighth, had held ſecret intelligences with the Greeks of Illyria, a people that had but lately been brought under the ſubjection of the porte; and that thoſe republican politicians had ſent all the papers and writings of that prelate to the ſultan.

THESE advices informed him farther, that the emperor Maximilian I Ferdinand king of Spain, Ferdi-

nand the dethroned king of Naples, Lodowic the duke or uſurper of Milan, the marqueſs of Mantua, and ſeveral other petty princes of Italy, were actually treating at Venice, and they pretended that the league was ſigned the laſt day of March. The grand maſter ſent the chevalier de Blanchefort back to the king, to communicate theſe advices to him, which the event ſhewed to be but too well founded. All theſe princes took up arms, and their army conſiſted of 20,000 foot and 34,000 horſe.

THE king ſaw plainly, that he muſt be forced on this occaſion to lay aſide the enterpriſe of the Levant: all his thoughts were bent on going to raiſe new forces in France: he marched that way with the remains of the army that he brought from thence. The enemy, who made near ſixty thouſand men oppoſed his paſſage; they came to an engagement. The allies, tho' ſuperior in number, yet differing in opinion, and not being well united among themſelves, advanced indeed bravely to the battle, but after the firſt charge, moſt of them wheeled about and retired. One would have thought, that they were come only to make a turnament; and the ſtradiots, a body of light horſe in the Venetian ſervice, falling upon the baggage, which was purpoſely left for them, as a bait to furniſh them with ſome employment, the king, at the head of his gentry and men of arms, opened himſelf a paſſage ſword in hand, and advanced forward with the loſs only of thirty or forty of his ſoldiers, after killing three thouſand five hundred of the enemy; in which number were Rodolph uncle to the marqueſs of Mantua, and three other princes of the name of Gonzaga, together with eighteen Italian lords.

CHARLES VIII. returned into his own dominions with more glory than advantage He loſt the kingdom of Naples by his retreat; and as the grand maſter had foreſeen, there was no more talk in France of the voyage beyond ſea, or of the conqueſt of Conſtantinople. The pope delivered from his fear of the king's forces, and being no longer under apprehenſions of any proſe-

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cution from that prince, who was ſcandalized at his wicked life and infamous actions, kept no meaſures at all after the French army had repaſſed the mountains, but relapſed into his former diſorders.

THE knights of Rhodes were not ſafe from the oppreſſion of his government. This pontiff, without any regard to the privileges of the order, and though he could not but be ſenſible of the ſervices that the knights were continually doing to Chriſtendom, he yet pretended to be abſolute maſter of all the dignities and commandries of the order; and the priory of Catalonia with the commandry of Nouvelles falling vacant, he beſtowed them on Lewis Borgia his nephew, though the grand maſter had diſpoſed of them before to brother Francis Boſſolx, a Catalan by birth, and one of the moſt illuſtrious knights of the language of Arragon.

SUCH a notorious invaſion of their privileges occaſioned great complaints throughout the order. They wrote about it by their embaſſadors to Ferdinand, at that time king of Arragon and Caſtile. This prince, who in his wars againſt the Moors of Granada had found no ſuccour ſo ſurely to be depended on as thoſe of the Spaniſh knights, entered into their juſt reſentment. He aſſured the grand maſter, that he would openly ſupport the nomination he had made of the chevalier Boſſolx, and that ſo long as he lived, he would never ſuffer any commandry to be diſpoſed of to his prejudice, and contrary to the rights of the order. This prince wrote at the ſame time to the pope, and repreſented to him, that there was no ſtate in all Chriſtendom but had the inſtitution and bravery of that noble order in ſingular veneration; that thoſe illuſtrious knights were the ſtanding protectors of all the Chriſtian nations that ſailed in the Mediterranean; that ever ſince the foundation of the order, they had always ſerved as a convoy to pilgrims that went out of devotion to viſit the holy land and the ſepulchre of the Saviour of mankind; that ſince the increaſe of their power by the conqueſt of the iſle of Rhodes, they made no

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uſe of their forces, as his holineſs well knew, but only to ſuccour Chriſtian princes againſt the Infidels; that they ſpent their revenues, their blood and their lives in that ſervice; that the order was daily loſing ſome of its braveſt knights in thoſe holy wars, and that very few of them came off without wounds; that it was in conſideration, and by way of acknowledgment for theſe important ſervices, that moſt of the ſovereigns of Chriſtendom had given ſo uſeful an order the eſtates of which the commandries were compoſed, and that there was not one of them but beheld with concern the attempts that were making to alter this diſpoſition; that they themſelves would not ſit tamely down, whilſt the poſſeſſions which their predeceſſors had acquired ſo juſtly, and by ſo many dangers and fatigues, were alienating from them, and were giving away to ſtrangers; and that after all there was no depriving them of their right, without damping their zeal, leſſening the forces that they kept at ſea, and abandoning all the Chriſtians that ſhould undertake any voyages by ſea, as a prey to barbarians and infidels.

THE pope ſubmitted to the arguments, or rather authority of the king of Arragon and Caſtile. That pontiff was very ſenſible, that amidſt the complaints of the Spaniſh knights, ſome invectives had been dropped againſt his intimacy and his correſpondence with the great Turk. He was obliged in honour to wipe off the ſtains that the poiſoning of Zizim had thrown upon him. In order therefore to ſilence reports ſo very prejudicial to his reputation, he propoſed by his nuncios to moſt of the Chriſtian princes the forming a powerful league againſt the infidels. He declared publickly that he himſelf would be the head of it; and to impoſe on ſuch as might call in queſtion the ſincerity of his intentions, he named the grand maſter of Rhodes for generaliſſimo of the Chriſtian army. Such a choice determined moſt of the ſovereigns of Europe to take up arms. The emperor Maximilian, Lewis XII. king of France, thoſe of Caſtile, Portugal and Hungary, the Venetians and moſt of the Italian princes entered into

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the league. The pope ſent the news of it to Rhodes: he required the order to maintain four gallies and four other veſſels well equipped for its quota during the war, promiſing at the ſame time to furniſh fifteen for his part, and took notice, in a particular letter which he ſent to the grand maſter, that the biſhop of Trivoli his nuncio was actually fitting them out in the port of Venice.

HOWEVER poſitive this promiſe might be, the grand maſter, who knew the pope's deceitful mind, was very loth to depend upon it, and was ſo thoroughly perſuaded of the certainty of his conjectures on this head, that he would have refuſed the poſt of general, if the council of the order had not repreſented to him, that there were certain conjunctures in which ſomething muſt neceſſarily be left to chance; that they had indeed but too much reaſon to apprehend, that the pope, notwithſtanding this great oſtentation of zeal which he affected to ſhew, ſtill kept up ſecret intelligences with the porte; but that in a cruſade and a general war undertaken againſt the infidels, the order was not at liberty to lie by in a ſtate of indolence, which would caſt a ſtain on the bravery of the knights; and that they ought always to be the firſt to take up arms, and the laſt to lay them down.

THE grand maſter was very ſenſible, that on ſuch occaſions there is no keeping exactly to the rules and dictates of prudence: and a very obliging letter which he received at the ſame time from Lewis XII. king of France determined him entirely. This prince, who was an excellent judge of merit, after giving juſt eulogiums to the valour and experience of the grand maſter, told him, that he was ſending ſeveral veſſels well equipped, and provided with land forces on board, into the Mediterranean; that Philip de Cleves-Raveſtein commanded this little fleet, and was expreſly enjoined by his inſtructions to obey him, and do nothing without his orders. The grand maſter and the council, in order to anſwer in a ſuitable manner to the great expectations all Chriſtendom had from the order, made ex-

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traordinary efforts, and put to ſea a conſiderable fleet, compoſed of veſſels with high decks, gallies, galiots and barks well provided. All theſe veſſels lay at anchor, and waited for the coming of the pope's gallies and French veſſels under Raveſtein's command. But this officer, far from obſerving the king his maſter's inſtructions, and in hopes of getting the whole honour of the campaign to himſelf, went firſt, without conſulting the grand maſter, and beſieged the capital of the iſle of Mitylene.

THE Venetians were at ſea with thirty gallies They were continually expecting thoſe of the pope; and Raveſtein flattered himſelf, that with that ſuccour he ſhould have the glory of this conqueſt. But it was not long before he found that the enterpriſe exceeded his ſtrength. The place was fortified with ſtrong baſtions, and was defended by a numerous garriſon conſiſting chiefly of janizaries. Moreover, the French general had not troops to inveſt it round, and the Turks were every moment throwing new ſuccours into it. Raveſtein, after loſing abundance of men in ſeveral attacks, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege; and pretending that the ſeaſon was too far advanced, he returned directly for the coaſts of France. The Venetian general wrote the grand maſter word, that the French had attempted and afterwards raiſed the ſiege of Mitylene without his privity and conſent; adding, that there was no depending on the fifteen gallies of the pope, that were ſo many caſtles in the air; that he knew only of two, which the duke of Valentinois his ſon was employing at that time againſt the prince of Piombino, and that they had no notion at all in Italy of the pontiff's taking up arms againſt the Turks. Nevertheleſs the league ſubſiſted ſome time longer, during which the Chriſtians took the iſlands of St. Maure from the Infidels, which was the only benefit they reaped from this union of the Chriſtian princes. The war that broke out between the French and Spaniards in the kingdom of Naples deſtroyed it entirely; and the pope, inſtead of intervening to reconcile thoſe two powers, did all he could to foment

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their diviſions. The Venetians deſerted by the principal of their allies, made a ſeparate peace with the Turk. Ladiſlaus king of Hungary entered into a like treaty with Bajazet, and none ſtood out but the knights of Rhodes, who, without having the leaſt ſuccour from the pope and the other princes of Europe, continued the war againſt the Turks with the ſingle forces of the order.

THEIR gallies were then at ſea, and met off the coaſts of Syria and Egypt a fleet of Turkiſh and Sarazen ſhips, bound from Alexandria, where they had been richly laden with merchandize, to Conſtantinople. The chevalier de Villaragut, caſtellan of Empoſta, commanded this ſquadron: he attacked and beat the convoy of this rich fleet, which he ſeized on, and brought into the port of Rhodes. The prize indeed was conſiderable, but not ſufficient to remove the grand maſter's concern for the indifference and negligence of his allies. He employed every method, and uſed the moſt preſſing inſtances, but to no purpoſe, in order to give new life to the league, and engage the pope to keep his word the following campaign. That pontiff, who had ſufficiently re-eſtabliſhed his reputation in having formed a league, employed his thoughts only on the making a great proviſion for Cæſar Borgia his favourite ſon. He was for making that baſtard a ſovereign prince and raiſing his fortune upon the ruins of the firſt houſes of Italy.

THE other princes of the alliance were in like manner entirely taken up with their own private intereſts. The grand maſter ſeeing no room to expect any thing for the advantage of Chriſtendom under ſuch a pontificate, waited for a change, and in the mean time turned all his care to regulate the conſtitution of his ſtate, and the manners of his knights and people.

BY an edict of the council he baniſhed the Jews out of the iſle of Rhodes, and all the territories of the order in which they had been ſettled for ſeveral ages. The hereditary averſion of that people for the adorable perſon of Jeſus Chriſt, made them odious to the grand maſter. Beſides, they ruined the ſubjects of the order by

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their exceſſive uſury, and were accuſed likewiſe of a certain kind of traffick that was ſtill more baſe and infamous.

FROM the ſame motive of piety, and the ſame ſpirit of religion, the grand maſter made ſevere ordinances againſt blaſphemers, and extended them afterwards againſt the luxury of ſome knights that went too fine and gaudy in apparel. This worthy head of an order, holy in its inſtitution, being as regular a religous as he was a great captain, ordered all his knights, agreeable to what had been always practiſed in the order, to wear no cloaths but what were plain, uniform, of one colour, and without any of thoſe vain embelliſhments, the reſult of pride and ambition; and if any one dared to infringe that ſtatute, he was condemned to undergo the diſcipline for two days, and faſt for ſeven, and his cloaths were confiſcated for the benefit of the poor. All the old commanders and the moſt zealous among the knights highly commended the grand maſter for this wiſe regulation. From that moment there were no more to be ſeen any ſtuffs of different colours, embroideries rich furs, or any ſort of vain equipage unſuitable to a ſet of religious perſons who had made the ſolemn vow of poverty at the altar. Indeed what could one think to ſee theſe religious dreſſed up like ſo many women, and perhaps with a view only of ſeducing them, and to have nothing of their profeſſion about them but a bare croſs, which they would not have worn neither, had it not ſerved for a title to the claim they laid to the revenues of the order? 'Twas a happy circumſtance indeed, that at the ſame time that they reſumed the modeſt habit of their profeſſion, they reſumed likewiſe the ſpirit of it; and the order again found a ſet of holy religious in the perſon of its brave knights.

WHILST the grand maſter was employing himſelf ſo worthily in maintaining a regular diſcipline in his order, one would have thought that the pope had conſpired its ruin. That pontiff, ever greedy of wealth, and above all things fond of deſpotick power, beſtowed the richeſt dignities of the order upon his relations

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and ſecular perſons; and diſpoſed of them without the privity of the grand maſter, without the leaſt regard for the nature of the poſſeſſions which belonged to an independant and ſovereign body, and in violation of all the rights and priveleges of the order. This unjuſt and violent proceeding afflicted the grand maſter in a very ſenſible manner. He wrote about it to the pope in very ſtrong terms, ſuch as a true zeal is apt to inſpire; but all the anſwer he had was a continuation of the ſame injuſtice; and he had an account, that even after his remonſtrances, Alexander had promiſed the grand priory of Caſtile to Don Henry de Toledo. This news threw the Grand maſter into a melancholy which ended at laſt in a ſickneſs that proved mortal to him. The generous old man, a ſincere lover of his order, of whoſe merit and uſefulneſs he was thoroughly perſuaded, could not get the better of his grief. His indiſpoſition became inſenſibly too ſtrong for all the remedies of phyſick. He ſunk under it without loſing any thing of his ordinary reſolution, and ſaw death ſteal upon his bed with the ſame intrepidity that he had ſo often ſtared it in the face in war amidſt the moſt terrible dangers. Thus died, at above eighty years of age, Peter d'Aubuſſon, grand maſter of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, one of the greateſt captains of his age: a man rever'd by all the princes that lived in his time, the darling and delight of his knights, the father of the poor, the redeemer of Rhodes, the ſword and buckler of Chriſtendom, and as eminently diſtinguiſhed by his unfeigned piety as by his ſingular valour.

HIS birth was illuſtrious; he was ſprung of one of the moſt noble and moſt antient houſes of France, the original of which is not to be traced in the obſcurity of the firſt ages of that monarchy. About the year 887 as Aimar de Chabanois relates, a nobleman of the name of Aubuſſon was made a viſcount in the province of Limouſin by king Eudes. The ſame hiſtorian, who lived in 1029, in order to ſet off the birth of Turpin biſhop of Limoges, ſays, that he was uncle to Robert viſcount d'Aubuſſon. But how illuſtrious ſoever the

grand maſter's anceſtors were, he gloried chiefly in ſuch of them as had ſignalized themſelves in the wars of the holy land. 'Twas to copy after their example that he devoted himſelf to the defence of Chriſtians by entering into the order, and fighting under the banner of St. John; we have now ſeen in the hiſtory of his life that he was as ſerviceable to them, as he was terrible to the Infidels. The order, after his death, inherited his eſtate; but we may ſay with juſtice, that the moſt valuable treaſure he left was the remembrance of his glory and the example of his virtues.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Knights Hoſpitallers

OF

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Called afterwards

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at preſent

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

BOOK VIII.

THOUGH all grand maſters are mortal, we may ſay that the order of St. John is immortal, and that ſuch a kind of republican government, founded upon invariable laws, and always actuated by a wiſe council, may loſe its head, or ſome of its members, without loſing any thing of its ſolidity. Let whatever will happen, it is always the ſame ſpirit that reigns init: the hiſtory of the grand maſter d'Aubuſſon furniſhes us a great example of it. 1503. The order was not ſenſible of his loſs, by reaſon of the wiſdom and zeal of his ſucceſſor. EMERI This ſucceſſor was brother EMERI D'AMBOISE. D'AMBOISE, of an ancient and very noble houſe, which was at that time particularly famous

by the famous George d'Amboiſe, brother to the grand maſter, archbiſhop of Rouen, cardinal and legate of the holy ſee, and firſt miniſter of France.

THE new grand maſter was in that kingdom, when the chevalier de Gaverſton, by order of the council, brought him the inſtrument of his election. This knight was ordered to repreſent to him what need the order had of the king of France's good offices with the pope, who continued, contrary to their rights and privileges, to put his creatures into all the commandries that fell vacant in the language of Italy. They complained likewiſe, that by his grant of expectative favours, he anticipated upon the vacant ones; and that for an inconſiderable ſum of money, he not only exempted the knights from their reſidence at Rhodes, which was ſo neceſſary at that time in order to acquire and preſerve a right of ſeniority; but alſo diſpenſed with ſeveral from taking on them the vows of the order, a practice which was entirely unprecedented. Every thing was venal in the court of this avaricious pope; no body, even in his own territories, could be rich with ſafety; and when he wanted pretences to ſeize on other people's eſtates, he kept a ſet of poiſoners in his pay, who by their abominable art, made the richeſt commandries and the firſt dignities of the church vacant whenever he pleaſed.

IT ſeemed ſtrange that in ſo holy a poſt God ſhould ſo long ſuffer a monſter that diſhonoured it: but if his juſtice was ſlow, it was not the leſs ſevere upon that account: and this pontiff periſhed by the ordinary inſtrument of his cruelties: for his laſt crime proved fatal to himſelf.

THE pope and his ſon had long hankered after, and graſped already in their hopes, the inheritance of the great eſtate of cardinal Adrian Cornetto, who paſſed for the richeſt of all the cardinals in ready money: but as the old man lived too long for their wiſhes, they reſolved to poiſon him. The pope invited him to an entertainment in a country houſe near Rome: the poiſon was prepared in a bottle of wine, which was to

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be filled out ſo no body but the cardinal. But the pope and the duke of Valentinois coming to the garden before him, and finding themſelves thirſty, called for drink, and the butler, who was let into the ſecret of the bottle, happening not to be there at that moment, another ſervant filled them wine out of the poiſoned bottle, which they drank off. Alexander being old, could not reſiſt the violence of the poiſon, what remedies ſoever they applied [a]. Thus died pope Alexander VI. "whoſe publick debaucherie, ſays P. Daniel in his hiſtory of France, treacheries, boundleſs "ambition, inſatiable avarice, cruelty and irreligion, "made him the odium of all Europe, in a poſt to which "none ought to be raiſed but by the practice of virtues, "the very oppoſite of his abominable vices[b].

THE duke of Valentinois being of a ſtronger conſtitution, eſcaped indeed by the help of various remedies, from dying outright; but ever after this terrible accident, he lived but in a ſtate of languiſhment; and afterwards loſt his life in attempting to reconnoitre a ſmall place that he had beſieged.

THUS were the church in general, and the order of St. John in particular, delivered from two tyrants, who by their wicked example, and their unjuſt government, ſeemed to have conſpired their ruin. The grand maſter hearing of their death, and thinking himſelf no longer neceſſary at the court of France, prepared to ſet out for Rhodes, whereupon he took leave of the king. That prince gave him the utmoſt demonſtrations of kindneſs, made him a preſent of a piece of the true croſs and gave him at the ſame time, as a teſtimony of the eſteem he had of his valour, the ſword that king St. Lewis wore in his wars beyond ſea, a preſent very ſuitable to the head of an order who was animated with the ſame ſpirit as that holy king. The grand

[a] 1 Edit. t. 2. p. 1721.

[b] Hiſtoria arcana; ſive de vita Alexandri VI. papæ; ſeu excerpta ex diario Johannis Burchardi Argentinenſis capellæ Alexandri VI. papæ clerici ceremoniarum magiſtri. Edita a Godefr. Guilielm. Leibnizio.

master, before his setting out, went to the parliament. The courts were then assembled in order to verify the bulls relating to the legatine faculties of cardinal d'Amboise his brother. He told that august assembly, that he would not set out for his own territories without taking leave of that court, to which he assured in general, as likewise to every particular member of it, that he would do them all the good offices that lay in his power.

THE grand master had a prosperous voyage, and arrived without any obstacle at Rhodes, and came to an anchor by the mole of St. Nicholas. He was received with all the usual ceremonies on such occasions; and in order to get a true information of the condition of the whole body of the order, he called a general chapter. Several regulations were made in it, for the supporting of discipline, and for settling a good order in the administration of the revenue: and it was highly necessary to take proper measures to prevent the ill designs of the Turks and Sarazens. Bajazet and the soldan of Egypt being exasperated against the knights, who were masters of the sea, in all parts of the Levant, had secretly made a league together to destory a power which ruined the commerce of their subjects. The grand seignior being now freed from the inquietude that his brother's life had before given him, could not forgive the knights for receiving a son of that unfortunate prince into their island. He was called Amurath, who not fancying himself safe in the soldan's dominions, had taken refuge at Rhodes. Bajazet, by way of revenge, had given orders to all the corsairs that sailed under his banner, to make descents in all the isles that owned the grand master as their sovereign. The soldan too had agreed to raise a strong army to lay siege to Rhodes: but as there was no wood in his dominions to build ships, the grand seignior lent him four gallies well equipped, and allowed that prince's embassador to purchase several merchant ships in the port of Constantinople: these the embassador laded with timber, iron, sails, and all other necessary rigging. Besides this

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ſuccour, that miniſter obtained leave of the grand ſeignior for the ſoldan his maſter to cut down timber in the foreſts about mount Negro, and along the gulph of Ajazzo; this gulph is well known to Cilicia and Syria together. Theſe preparations were not intended only for the war of Rhodes. The ſoldan, whoſe name was Campſon Gauri, deſigned part of them againſt the Portugueſe, who were grown formidable along the coaſts of the Red-ſea, and over all the eaſt. They were to carry this timber all ready framed to the port of Alexandria, from whence they tranſported it upon camels to Suez, a ſmall town ſeated on the edge of the Red-ſea,[a] near the place where the Iſraelites had formerly croſſed as on dry land, under the conduct of Moſes. 1505.

EMANUEL king of Portugal, one of the greateſt kings of that nation, was then making war upon Naubeadarin king of Calecut: the ſpice trade had drawn the Portugueſe into his territories, which lie along the coaſt of Malabar, in the peninſula on this ſide Ganges. This was the place where the Portugueſe landed when they diſcovered the Eaſt Indies. They were at firſt received by the people with great humanity; but afterwards abuſing their good nature, and attempting to make themſelves maſters of the country, they were driven out of it. The Portugueſe returned thither with powerful fleets. The king of the country, not having forces enough to make head againſt theſe foreigners, applied to the ſoldan of Egypt for ſuccour: and in order to engage him in his defence, repreſented to him by his embaſſador, that the Portugueſe ſeemed to have a deſign to conquer the eaſt, and deſtroy the holy law of the prophet; and that thoſe Europeans were likely to extend their conqueſts as far as the places which true Muſulmen have in the greateſt veneration. And the better to excite the zeal and indignation of that prince, he engaged the king of Aden, who having

[a] Oxorius, l. 3. c. 4.
Matt. l. 3. c. 2. hiſt. gen. de Portugal, par Lequian, tom. 2.

ing the honour to be of the race of Mahomet, bears, on that account, a diſtinguiſhed rank among the kings of Arabia, to diſpatch likeways an embaſſador to him to make the ſame remonſtrances.

CAMPSON, who, among other titles, aſſumed that of protector of Mecca, aſſured them of ſtrong ſuccours; and was likeways ſollicited to it underhand by the Venetians, who were jealous of the commerce carried on by the Portugueſe in the eaſt, and had ſent an embaſſador to the ſoldan. This embaſſador brought ſeveral workmen along with him, ſome to caſt artillery, others to work in the building of veſſels; but who were particularly to be employed in building gallies, veſſels abſolutely neceſſary in the port of Suez, which had not a bottom ſafe enough for great veſſels to ride in.

THIS was the occaſion of Campſon's deſiring leave of Bajazet to ſupply himſelf with timber out of the foreſts of Cilicia. Whilſt his artificers were employed in theſe kinds of work, the grand ſeignior put to ſea a fleet conſiſting of a great number of galiots, flutes, and other ſorts of veſſels, with a body of land forces on board, under the command of a famous corſair called Camali, to whom the reſt of the corſairs had joined themſelves in this expedition, and who had all of them orders, as we have ſaid, to make deſcents on the iſles belonging to the knights, and deſtroy all with fire and ſword. But they were prevented by the care and vigilance of the grand maſter: ſeveral detachments of cavalry, with the braveſt knights at their head, were poſted along the coaſt of the iſle of Rhodes to guard it; ſo that the corſairs attempting to make a deſcent, the troops which they put on ſhore were ſurrounded by the Rhodians as ſoon as they advanced into the country. The greateſt part of them were cut to pieces, and Camali gathering together as many as he could of thoſe that eſcaped the ſword of the knights, ſet ſail again and fell upon the iſles of Simia, Tilo and Niſſaro, but with no better ſucceſs than he had at Rhodes. He was in hopes however of repairing theſe miſcarriages by the conqueſt of the iſle of Lango; in this view he

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ſtood away for that coaſt, and was not far from it when he was informed that the grand maſter had put a conſiderable body of knights in it, under the command of brother Raimond de Balagner, an old knight, dreaded over all thoſe ſeas for his valour and experience

ALL this expedition ended in a deſcent on the iſle of Lero, which does not ſo much deſerve the name of an iſland, as of a rock or ſhelf; Camali landed 500 Turks, that began to batter the caſtle with all the cannon of their veſſels.

THE governor of this little place was an old knight, of the language of Italy, who being extremely ill at that time, left the care of defending it to a young knight of Piedmont, ſcarce eighteen years old, Paul Simeoni by name. This young knight having no garriſon nor ſoldiers, but only ſome poor inhabitants that cultivated the leaſt rocky places of the iſle, put a good face upon the matter, and fired briskly on the infidels that battered the place; but as their artillery had beat down a great pannel of the wall of his caſtle, he, to intimidate the enemy, and prevent their making an aſſault, dreſſed the inhabitants of the iſland, and alſo their wives, in the habit of knights, with the white croſs: this new militia, by his orders, lined the breach in great numbers. The Turks taking them to be really knights, and imagining that they were a re-inforcement which had been ſent on the noiſe of their cannon; and landed in the iſle by night, raiſed the ſiege with precipitation, for fear of being ſurpriſed by the gallies of the order, which owed the preſervation of this fort to the reſolution and adreſs of young Simeoni. 1506.

THE ſoldan of Egypt, purſuant to the treaty which he had made with Bajazet, had ſent ſeven flutes into thoſe ſeas; which are a ſort of long veſſels with a low deck, and provided with oars as well as ſails. Theſe flutes had land forces on board, and the commodore's deſign was to make at attempt on the iſle of Lango. Two of theſe veſſels, that were a ſort of van to the reſt, advancing a good way before them in order to re-

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connoitre, were discovered by the centinels of the castle. The governor immediately ordered two gallies to sail out of the port, who, after having put out to sea, turned back upon the flutes, and cut off their retreat. The Sarazens not thinking themselves strong enough to fight them, and not able to get back to their squadron, made for the coast of Lango, ran their ships aground, got on shore, fled and hid themselves in the island. The knights knowing they could not escape being taken, lost no time in pursuing them, but towed off the two flutes, put Christian soldiers and seamen on board them, with two knights, that got into the same course which the infidels had held before. The other five flutes that came quietly on, seeing the two others that preceeded them, came up with them without mistrusting any thing; but they were strangely surprised to see themselves attacked: they were still more so, when they saw the two gallies of the order appear from behind a cape of the island, and lay them aboard. The Infidels, after a smart attack, were forced to strike, and were all made slaves in the gallies, as well as those that had fled to the island, where they were soon discovered and taken prisoners.

THIS little advantage was succeeded by an enterprise much more considerable, that was exe-
1507. cuted by one of the vessels of the order. There went every year from Alexandria a great carack laden with silks, spices, and all sorts of merchandize, which the soldan's subjects brought from the Indies by the way of the Red-sea, and were carried in this vessel from Egypt into Africa, and to Tunis, and up as far as Constantinople. This ship was of so extraordinary a bulk, that they say the top of the highest mast of the largest gallies was not near the height of the prow of this prodigious machine. Six men were scarce able to clasp the mast about. This vessel had seven stories, two of which were lower than the surface of the water: it was able to carry, besides its freight, and the merchants and seamen necessary for the working and sailing of it, a thousand soldiers for

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its defence; it was a ſort of floating caſtle, mounted with above an hundred pieces of cannon: the Sarazens called this carack the queen of the ſea: the knights, during the government of Aubuſſon, had attempted ſeveral times to come up with it and attack it, but never could carry their point. The order was more lucky under his ſucceſſor. Advice being brought that it was at ſea, the grand maſter ordered the chevalier de Gaſtineau, commander of Limoges, to go on board the admiral galley of the order, and endeavour to meet the carack and engage it, but to make uſe of artifice rather than force in the taking of it, and to be particularly careful neither to burn nor ſink it. The commander, purſuant to his orders, ſet ſail, ſteering his courſe for Candia, and cruiſing a little beyond that iſland to wait the coming up of the prize. The carack ſoon appeared, and diſcovered the Chriſtian caper; but the Sarazens preſuming on their own force, and the ſuperiority of their fire and artillery, would not change their courſe; ſo far from that, they looked on their enemy with contempt, and thought it a raſhneſs in the Chriſtian to put himſelf in their way, as if he had a mind to be taken, and ſurrender himſelf up into his hands.

THE knight however ſtill kept on his courſe, and ſeeing himſelf within cannon ſhot, ſent one of his officers in his long-boat to ſummon the captain of the carack to deliver up his ſhip. The Sarazen replied, that the ſhip belonged to the ſoldan his maſter; that he had by his orders commanded her ſeveral years, without having met with any enemy in thoſe ſeas daring enough to attack him, and required him to tell his commander, that he had a number of brave Muſulmen on board, who would loſe their lives rather than loſe their honour and their liberty. The knight, upon receiving this anſwer, and as if he had a mind to make up this affair by way of treaty, ſent his officer back to the Sarazen, to repreſent to him that his ſuperiors had given him expreſs orders to attack him whether ſtrong or weak; that he could not help obeying them, and

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therefore could only offer them, if they would ſurrender, to give them good quarter; but that in caſe they would not, he would either burn or ſink them. By means of theſe parlies, the time which was ſpent in diſpatching the Chriſtian officer backwards and forwards, the commander, who had no deſign but to amuſe them, was ſtill advancing forwards, and was come almoſt inſenſibly up cloſe to the carack; ſo that the Sarazens having threatened the envoy to throw him into the ſea if he returned any more with ſuch propoſals, he was no ſooner got on board the galley of the order, but the commander let fly a broadſide of his cannon loaden with cartridges, which killed the Sarazen captain, with moſt of the officers, as well as ſoldiers and ſeamen that were upon the deck. The merchants, ſoldiers and ſeamen that were left in the carack, frighted at the terrible havock made by this volley, and ſeeing them preparing to fire a ſecond broadſide, ſtruck and offered to yield. The commander obliged the principal of them to come on board his galley, and at the ſame time ſent a party of his own officers and ſeamen on board their veſſel, to take the management of it. 'Twould be impoſſible to relate the immenſe wealth that was found in this prize, beſides vaſt ſums of money and precious ſtones belonging to the merchants.

THE ſoldan ſent ſeveral bales of pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cloves, and a great quantity of rich tapeſtry, camlets, and various ſorts of commodities of great value for the ranſom of the merchants and his other ſubjects. The veſſels of the order took likeways, a few days after, near the coaſt of Cyprus, three ſhips of the Sarazens, and ſent the merchandiſe on board them to be ſold in France, the produce of the ſale being laid out in cannon, arms, and ammunition, which the agents of the order ſent to Rhodes.

THE ſoldan, incenſed at theſe loſſes, reſolved to augment his naval force, and to have always a certain number of gallies in the Mediterranean and
1510. Red-ſea. That prince ſent five and twenty veſſels of different bulk into the gulph of A-

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jazzo, to tranſport the timber which he had cauſed to be cut and ready framed there, and deſigned to make uſe of for the building of new veſſels.

THE grand maſter having certain advice of the arrival of this Egyptian fleet in the gulph, and that this new armament was deſigned againſt a Chriſtian prince, reſolved to oppoſe it. He propoſed the matter to the council. Several of the grand croſſes thought the enterprize dangerous by reaſon of the forces of the ſoldan: but as the order was ſtronger at ſea than that prince, and beſides, the council was perſuaded of the wiſdom and prudence of the grand maſter, his opinion prevailed, and they allowed him to draw out of the treaſury the money neceſſary for this expedition. He gave orders for equipping the great carack, and they fitted out at the ſame time four gallies of the order, and eighteen veſſels of ſeveral ſizes. As the king of Portugal's intereſt was chiefly concerned in this war, the grand maſter gave the command of the gallies to Andrew d'Amaral a Portugueſe, of the language of Caſtile, commander of Vera Crux, a brave knight, and well skilled in naval affairs, but proud, conceited, and too much prepoſſeſſed in favour of his own valour and capacity.

THE ſhips were under the command of the chevalier de Villiers de l'Iſle-Adam: the grand maſter choſe him for this employment, on account of the eſteem and reputation he had in the order, which he had merited by his valour and wiſe conduct in commanding.

The gallies ſailing out of the port of Rhodes, came up to the iſle of Cyprus, and went coaſting up and down the iſland. But the commander de l'Iſle-Adam, to avoid being becalmed, kept out to ſea; and both, according to appointment, came by different ways to cape St. André, which is on the eaſt of the kingdom of Cyprus. When the whole fleet of the order was joined, they held a council of war upon the manner of their attacking the infidels. The two chieftains, I mean d'Amaral and l'Iſle-Adam, were of different opinions. The Frenchman propoſed to wait, and ſurpriſe

the ſhips when they ſhould be at ſea with the timber on board; d'Amaral was for going to attack them in the bottom of the gulph, without conſidering that they might be defended by batteries erected on the ſhore: and pretended to make his opinion paſs for a law, at the ſame time that he rejected that of l'Iſle-Adam with contempt. The debate grew very hot; the two generals were on the point of fighting; but the Frenchman having more moderation, and fearing that the quarrel might cauſe the enterpriſe to miſcary, ſacrificed his reſentment to the common good of the order, and ſubmitted to d'Amaral's opinion. The whole fleet then diſcovered itſelf, and entered full ſail into the gulph. The commodore of the Sarazens was the ſoldan's nephew: the young prince, who wanted no courage, ſeeing the Rhodian fleet, put what land forces he had on board his ſhip, weighed anchor, advanced to meet the knights, and offered them battle. There were in the Chriſtian fleet excellent pilots uſed to thoſe ſeas, who, by working their ſhips, got the wind of the enemy; the infidels however were not daunted at it, but fought on with the ſame courage. The artillery was played equally well on both ſides, and the generals fought themſelves, and obliged their ſoldiers to fight like men that would not outlive their defeat. The continual fire of the cannon and ſmall arms, the craſh and havock of the ſhipping, the ſhooting down the maſts, and ſinking of ſeveral veſſels, all this loſt abundance of men on both ſides; and after an obſtinate engagement for three hours together, it was ſcarce diſcernible on what ſide the victory inclined: and in all probability, if they had continued firing and cannonading only at a diſtance, the battle would not have been ſo ſoon ended; but the knights, by order of their generals, endeavoured to board them, and following their example, leaped moſt of them ſword in hand into the enemies veſſels. This ſoon changed the face of the combat; and as, when they come to grapple, a knight had a great advantage over a Sarazen ſoldier both in courage and addreſs, the Egyptians loſt ſeveral ſhips. Moſt of the infidels got

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into their long-boats, whilſt others threw themſelves into the ſea to ſwim to the ſhore. Such as were lucky enough to get thither, fled into the woods and mountains; only their general choſe rather to die honourably fighting, than either abandon his ſhip or ſurrender.

THE knights in this engagement took eleven ſhips and four gallies, and ſunk the reſt. They afterwards landed ſome troops that purſued the fugitives, and took moſt of them, and made them ſlaves; and after ſetting fire to the timber, which the Egyptians had framed, they returned to Rhodes, and came back into the port with the ſhips and gallies they had taken from the enemy, and a great number of priſoners that they had taken in this expedition.

THESE prizes made the treaſury ample amends for the expences it had been obliged to make for this armament; eſpecially at a time when the knights, out of a ſpirit of diſappropriation, devoted not only their prizes to the common good of the order, but alſo all the money they could lay by out of the revenues of their ſeveral commandries. We have a remarkable inſtance of this at that time in brother Charles l'Aleman de la Roche-Chinard, of the language of Provence, grand prior of St. Giles, who, reſerving only to himſelf out of his income, a ſmall ſum for his maintenance, employed as long as he lived the profits of his priory, either in the beautifying of their altars, or in the defence and ſervice of the order: and they have particularly obſerved, that during the maſterſhip of the grand maſter d'Aubuſſon, he ſent to Rhodes the ſtatues of the twelve apoſtles, which he had cauſed to be made of gilt plate, and which weighed two hundred merks of ſilver; that he afterwards ſent thither a gold ring repreſenting the Saviour of mankind, the ſtatues of the holy virgin, and St. John Baptiſt, both likeways of maſſy gold, and weighing fourſcore merks, a chalice, and ſeveral rich ornaments for the altar: and this year he made the prioral church a preſent of fifteen pictures which coſt him a thouſand 1511.

crowns, having each of them a cross of fine gold, fashioned after the same manner as those which were worn by the knights, and weighing thirty merks. In fine, this very knight built, at his own expence, a noble palace to serve as an inn to the knights of the language of Provence, to whom he sent likeways four cannons with their carriages, to serve for the defence of the place. He left himself, before he died, no more than ten thousand crowns, which he deposited in the bank of St. George at Genoa, for the benefit of the body of the order, with the view, that if Rhodes should chance to be besieged, the knights might find that supply ready for the purchasing arms and ammunition: all of them dispositions so truly Christian and religious, that we thought ourselves obliged to transmit the remembrance of them to posterity, and to propose them for an example to the commanders, who, under that honourable title, are really no more than the administrators of the revenues that belong to the body of the order, and the common treasury. 'Twas from the same spirit, that the grand master d'Amboise employed the revenues annexed to his dignity, either in relieving the poor, who looked upon him as their father, or in making fortifications at Rhodes; but death sur-
1512. prised him in the midst of such laudable employments, in the 78th year of his age, the greatest part of which he had spent in the practice of Christian virtues. He was a wise prince, skilful in the arts of government, successful in all his enterprises, and one who enriched his order with the spoils of the infidels, without encreasing his own wealth; for he died poor, at the same time that he left not one poor man in his dominions.

WE may justly apply to the grand master d'Aubusson what is said of Raimond Dupuy of blessed memory, the first military grand master of the order, viz. that most of his pupils proved his successors. Indeed, upon the loss that the order had just sustained by the death of the grand master Amboise, they thought they could

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not repair it better than by making choice of brother GUY DE BLANCHEFORT grand prior of Auvergne, nephew to the grand maſter d'Aubuſſon, during whoſe maſterſhip he had a conſiderable ſhare in the government of the order, and particularly in the guard and care of prince Zizim. GUY DE BLANCHEFORT.

WHILST meſſengers were gone from Rhodes to France, to carry the prior de Blanchefort news of his election, the council of the order received a brief from Julius II. who was then on the throne of St. Peter, inviting the principal knights to repair immediately to the council of Lateran, which that pontiff had called, in order to balance the authority of the aſſembly called at Piſa againſt him, at the requeſt of the emperor Maximilian the firſt, of Lewis XII. king of France, and five cardinals. The pope in his brief told the council of the order, that he deſigned to entruſt the knights of St. John with the guard of the council. The deſign of this warlike pope was to get a conſiderable body of thoſe knights into his party, and engage them to ſerve in his troops. But the council being well informed, that the buſineſs of that council was not ſo much to take care of the intereſts of religion, as to ſupport the ambitious projects of Julius, who had put all Chriſtendom in a flame, did not think proper to intermeddle in affairs that bore ſo little conformity to their inſtitution. They excuſed themſelves on account of the abſence and diſtance of the new grand maſter, from making any conſiderable detachment on that account. To ſhew ſome deference however to the orders of the pope, the firſt ſpiritual ſuperior of the order, they ordered the chevalier Fabricio Caretto admiral of the order, who was then reſiding at the court of Rome, in quality of their procurator general, to raiſe in Italy and in the pope's territories a number of knights, and to go at the head of them to offer their ſervice to that pontiff.

THE deſire of husbanding the Chriſtian princes was not the only motive which made the council take ſuch a prudent reſolution. They had received at Rhodes an

account of mighty preparations which the Turks were making in all their ports; and this made the lieutenant of the masterſhip, and all the council, reſolve not to let any knight go out of the iſland. They diſpatched at the ſame time the chevalier John de Fournon to the grand maſter, to preſs him to come thither as ſoon as poſſible. The commander Caretto, who had acquired ſo much glory at the ſiege of Rhodes, had orders likeways ſent him to repair thither with the pope's permiſſion, and bring with him two ſhips laden with corn, recruits and ſupplies of ſeveral ſorts for the garriſons of fort St. Peter, and the iſles of the order; and they ſent at the ſame time detachments of knights thither to provide for the defence and preſervation of thoſe places.

THE news of the Turks armament ſpreading itſelf over all Europe, made the grand maſter hurry away; and though he found himſelf dangerouſly ill, nothing could ſtop him. He embarked at Villa Franca near Nice; but the ſea made his illneſs much worſe. The knights that attended him ſeeing themſelves off of Trapani, a town of Sicily, would fain have perſuaded him to put in there, and be carried aſhore: but the grand maſter, who had more regard to the intereſts of his order than to his own life, fearing that if he ſhould die in that place, the pope would hear of his death before his ſucceſſor was elected, and take upon him to diſpoſe of the grand maſterſhip, ordered that they ſhould keep on their courſe for Rhodes. After ſome days ſail, as they were off of the iſle of Zante, he felt the approaches of death. He faced it with the ſame intrepidity as he had ſo often ſhewed in the many engagements he had been in; and after diſcharging all the duties of a Chriſtian and a true religious, he devoted his laſt moments to the preſervation of the ſovereignty and temporal independence of the order. To prevent any attempt from the court of Rome againſt the freedom of election, he ordered the knights that attended him, as ſoon as the breath was out of his body, and before the news of his death could reach Italy, to diſpatch a caravel,

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well provided with excellent rowers, to carry the news of his death to Rhodes with all poſſible expedition. His laſt orders were punctually executed; the caraval arrived at Rhodes December 13th. 1513.

The day following the chapter met, and Nov. 24. choſe admiral CARETTO for grand maſter, FABRICIO a dignity that had been foretold him by CARETTO. the grand maſter d'Aubuſſon, as has been already mentioned in the ſeventh book of this hiſtory, and which he deſerved not only from a ſeries of gallant actions, but alſo by the ſeveral negotiations that he had carried on at the courts of Chriſtian princes with great wiſdom and dexterity.

As ſoon as he had taken poſſeſſion of this eminent poſt, he called a general chapter. As they expected they were going to be beſieged, moſt of the regulations made in it related either to warlike ſtores, or the ſubſiſtence of the knights that were neceſſary for the defence of Rhodes. The grand maſter undertook to provide for every thing, and engaged to maintain five hundred and fifty knights that actually reſided in the convent for the ſum of forty thouſand crowns which was to be paid him annually out of the treaſury. They aſſigned him likewiſe a farther ſum of twenty three thouſand crowns for the extraordinary charges of the artillery, and the maintenance of ſultan Amurath, Zizim's ſon, who had turned Chriſtian, and had the caſtle of Feracle in the iſle of Rhodes given him by the order for his reſidence, where he led a very exemplary life. The grand maſter, by means of a rich merchant of Lions, Laurenſin by name, got a large train of artillery from France, and ſent thither at the ſame time to reſide in quality of embaſſador of the order, brother Philip de Villiers de l'Iſle-Adam, whom we have already mentioned, hoſpitaller and grand prior of France, in which kingdom he likewiſe acted as viſitor and lieutenant to the grand maſter.

THE war which they were apprehenſive of at Rhodes from the Turks, was ſuſpended by ſome domeſtick diſſenſions that broke out at the porte in the Ottoman

man houſe. Bajazet was ſtill upon the throne, a gouty and infirm prince, that delighted only in eating and drinking, or in ſearching after ſome of the ſecrets of nature, a lazy and voluptuous philoſopher but a very weak prince.

THIS prince had three ſons, Achomat, Corcut and Selim: the firſt, either from a political view, or from his natural inclination, paſſed his life in luxury and a ſhameful indolence. Corcut, who has been already mentioned, and whom the janizaries, after the death of Mahomet II. his grandfather, had ſeated on the throne, in order to ſecure the poſſeſſion of it to his father, affected a great air of devotion, and was never ſeen without the Alcoran in his hand. Selim, the youngeſt of the three, loved war, and omitted nothing that might gain him a reputation in it. Among three princes of ſuch different characters, Bajazet was for declaring Achomat his ſucceſſor; the ſimilitude and conformity of their taſte for pleaſures occaſioned this diſtinguiſhing affection in his favour. Selim being informed of his intentions, employed every artifice in order to traverſe them. He found means to get the janizaries into his intereſt; and thoſe troops being gained by Selim's money, waited only for an opportunity of declaring in his favour.

THE grand ſeignior and the king of Perſia, being both too powerful and too near neighbours to live in good underſtanding for any time together, declared war againſt each other. The janizaries, a body of troops always terrible to ſuch of their ſovereigns as do not make themſelves dreaded by them, before they marched into the field, demanded openly a prince to command them, and Selim muſt be that prince in ſpite of Bajazet, who had named them his eldeſt ſon for their general. They carried their inſolence ſtill higher: they required of weak Bajazet, as a ſecurity of their pay, as they ſaid, to deliver up the keys of the treaſury to their new general. The unhappy old man underſtood the meaning of this well enough: he came down from the throne and quitted Conſtantinople to retire to

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Demotica, a country houſe which he had built by the ſide of the Euxine ſea. But Selim, who was diffident of his inclination for Achomat, got him poiſoned by his phyſician: he afterwards cauſed his two brothers with their wives and children to be ſtrangled. Such were the ſteps by which he mounted to ſovereign power: in other reſpects he was a great captain, always on horſeback, indefatigable, ſober, not given to any pleaſure, nor affected with any thing but glory, which he ſought after all his life-time in the dangers of war.

THIS prince's ambition, his courage, his power, the forces of his empire, all contributed to alarm his neighbours. Ismael king of Perſia was the firſt that he fell upon. Selim invaded his dominions, paſſed the Euphrates, gave him battle, routed him, and took the famous city of Taurus. The perſian to make head againſt ſo formidable an enemy, endeavoured to form alliances with the princes his neighbours. He ſent an embaſſador to the grand maſter, who in the habit of a merchant, and by the aſſiſtance of a Turk, who was an inhabitant of Tarſus in Cilicia, and had a penſion from the order, got ſafe through Selim's territories, and came to Rhodes. He was received in that place with all the regard due to the greatneſs of his maſter, and the importance of the affair he was come to negotiate. This miniſter treated with the council, and concluded a leage againſt the common enemy. Campſon Gauri ſoldan of Egypt, who was as much afraid of Selim as the reſt, entered likewiſe into the treaty. The grand ſeignior having advice of theſe various negotiations, ſent embaſſadors to Cairo, to diſengage the ſoldan from the league; but not ſucceeding in his deſign, he turned his arms againſt that prince, and in leſs than four years time reduced Syria, Paleſtine, the maritime places of the Red Sea, a great part of Arabia, and all Egypt: and having entirely deſtroyed the empire of the Mamelukes, he left the government of Egypt to Cair-beg, and that of Syria to Gazelles, two lords who had been principal officers among the Mamelukes, but who, in breach of the fidelity which they owed to

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their ſovereigns, had deſerted them, and gone over to the Turks. Selim returned to Conſtantinople covered with glory after theſe great exploits; and immediately ſet to work in fitting out two hundred gallies, which he deſigned for the conqueſt of the iſle of Rhodes.

THE precaution ſo neceſſary for a conqueror of being informed of the fortifications of a place which he intends to beſiege, made him ſend a Jewiſh phyſician to Rhodes as a ſpy. This traitor, in order to be the leſs ſuſpected, got himſelf baptized: his ſkill, and the want they were in of ſuch a man of his character, ſoon introduced him into the principal houſes of the city: and when he had diſcovered the weak places of the fortification, he gave an exact account of them to the miniſters of the porte. Whilſt they were continually at work in the arſenals upon the preparations neceſſary for this enterpriſe, Selim fell ill of the ſtone, others ſay of a cancer in the reins, of which he died at the age of forty years, after having deſtroyed the empire of the Mamelukes, ſubdued Syria and Paleſtine, triumphed over all the forces of Perſia, taken the maritime towns of the Red Sea, and great part of Arabia, and reduced all Egypt into one province only of his empire: all which conqueſts he finiſhed in a reign of leſs than eight years.

SOLYMAN II. his only ſon ſucceeded him in the government of this vaſt empire, who took poſſeſſion of it almoſt at the ſame time that Charles V. was elected emperor of Germany. Solyman was ſcarce twenty years old. Gazelles governor of Syria had been faithful to his father, whom he ſtood in fear of, and whoſe power kept him in awe: but thinking himſelf freed from his engagements by the death of that prince, as ſoon as he heard the news of it, he thought of raiſing up the empire of the Mamelukes again, and was not without hopes of getting into the throne himſelf. He wanted neither courage nor capacity for the carrying on ſo mighty a deſign, but as he had not forces ſufficient ſingly to oppoſe the formidable power of the Turks, he ſecretly

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diſpatched one of his confidents to Cair-beg governor of Egypt, in order to endeavour to engage him in his intended revolt. His agent repreſented to him in his behalf, that under the reign of a young prince, whom he looked upon as a child, nothing could be more eaſy or more glorious for both of them, than to unite their forces, and employ them to deliver the nation from the tyranny of the Turks.

BUT Cair-beg preferred a fortune already made to his hands, which was as great as a private man could enjoy, to the uncertain ſucceſs of an enterpriſe of ſo delicate a nature, which, though it ſhould chance to ſucceed, Gazelles nevertheleſs would probably reap all the benefit of it. To clear himſelf therefore of all manner of ſuſpicion of infidelity, he put the envoy of Gazelles to death, diſpatching at the ſame time an expreſs to the porte, in order to acquaint the grand ſeignior and his miniſters with the dangerous projects of the governor of Syria.

SOLYMAN ſent immediately a ſtrong army againſt him, under the command of Ferhat baſha, one of the ableſt generals of the emperor his father. Gazelles not ſeeing his agent return, began to be apprehenſive that he was betrayed by the governor of Egypt. As he was engaged too far to retreat, and the bare debating whether one ſhall continue faithful to one's ſovereign, is a breach of faith that merits chaſtiſement, he ſummoned about him all the ſurviving Mamelukes that were diſperſed up and down in different places. All Syria by his orders took up arms; and he ſent embaſſadors at the ſame time to Rhodes to deſire a train of artillery of the grand maſter, which he wanted, in order to make head againſt their common enemy.

THE grand maſter, overjoyed to ſee war breaking out again between the Infidels, immediately ſent him cannon, powder, and other ammunition, with ſeveral excellent officers of artillery. Gazelles employed them to his advantage; and though he was every moment expecting the Turkiſh army, which was on its march, he yet beſieged Tripoli, Baruth, and ſeveral other

other places of Phœnicia, which he took. His conquests were interrupted by the arrival of Ferhat bashaw. Though the Egyptian had fewer troops, he saw plainly, that he had no resource but in a victory: he marched straight against the Turks: the two armies soon came to an engagement; and the victory was disputed a long time. Gazelles at the head of his Mamelukes, sustained all the efforts of the Turkish army for six hours together: he rallied his troops several times, charged always at their head, and killed several officers of the janizaries with his own hand: in fine, after losing the best part of his men, oppressed with numbers, and surrounded on all sides, he chose to die fighting rather than take quarter. He fell covered over with wounds, upon an heap of Mamelukes that had met with the same fate; and his death put an end to the war, and utterly destroyed that nation, or rather that body of soldiers which had disposed of the throne of Egypt at their pleasure, for upwards of two hundred years.

THE grand seignior was not long before he was informed of the leagues which the knights of Rhodes had entered into against sultan Selim his father. His ministers represented to him, that those knights by their fleets and armaments were masters of the sea; that they had several times intercepted the convoys that they were sending to Syria and Egypt; that they kept several Turkish officers in chains, whom they had taken prisoners; that corsairs were continually putting to sea from Rhodes and the other isles of the order, to disturb the commerce of his subjects; and to raise his resentment to the height, they put him in mind of the succours which they sent to Gazelles to support him in his rebellion. Solyman resolved to invade that island, and was particularly confirmed in that design by some memorials that sultan Selim had left; wherein was this observation, that to secure the frontiers of his empire, it was necessary to take the town of Belgrade in Europe, and the island of Rhodes in Asia.

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BUT Solyman, before he engaged in two ſuch difficult enterpriſes, ſeeing himſelf in poſſeſſion of ſuch a vaſt empire, was deſirous of eſtabliſhing his authority upon certain principles and maxims of a very different nature from thoſe which his predeceſſors had followed. Before Solyman's reign, force alone, with reſpect to the neighbouring princes, determined both of peace and war, and was the ſovereign rule of the enterpriſes of his predeceſſors; at the ſame time that a barbarous deſpotick power was the only law that prevailed within the kingdom. The baſhas plundered the people with impunity; and the prince in his turn ſqueezed theſe ſponges, and frequently put the greateſt of them to death; under ſuch a government no rich man could be innocent: Solyman's conduct was entirely oppoſite: he never made war without declaring it, and he never declared it without having a plauſible pretence for doing ſo, which, after all, politick princes are ſeldom wanting in. His ſubjects under his reign ſaw perhaps for the firſt time juſtice and equity reign together. This prince, the greateſt monarch that ever ſat upon the Turkiſh throne, iſſued out a proclamation throughout all his dominions, the purport of which was, that all ſuch as had been unjuſtly deprived of their eſtates by his father and his anceſtors, by applying themſelves only to him, would have juſtice done them. The unjuſt poſſeſſors of thoſe eſtates, which were appointed for the keeping up of temples and moſques, were ſeverely puniſhed: he reſtored the authority of the courts of judicature which had been laughed at in the precedent reigns. Several cadis or judges, that had prevaricated in their poſts, were condemned to death: and as to the grandees and baſhas, he never put any of them to death for the ſake of their riches, but only puniſhed ſuch as grew ſo by extortions, and abuſing their power; in a word, he declared war againſt vice, injuſtice and violence, before he carried his arms againſt the enemies of his law.

SUCH was Solyman when he reſolved to make war upon the Chriſtians. This prince being told that A-

murath II. and Mahomet II. had miſcarried at the ſieges of Belgrade and Rhodes, fancied that ſuch an enterpriſe would be an honour to his firſt attempt in war. He reſolved to begin with the ſiege of Belgrade; but to hinder the Hungarians from making timely preparations for their defence, his miniſters, by his orders, gave out that his deſigns were directly levelled againſt the iſle of Rhodes.

BUT the grand maſter, to prevent them, built new walls in ſuch places of the city as ſeemed moſt to want them. They augmented the fortifications of the place and filled the magazines with corn, ammunition and proviſions. The pope, at the requeſt of this vigilant grand maſter, ſent three galleons well provided to the ſuccour of the order; and Francis I. king of France, furniſhed at the ſame time nine gallies, four brigantines, and four barks well equipped. This little fleet arrived ſafe at Rhodes, under the command of the baron de St. Blancard.

BUT Solyman had no ſooner made his real deſigns public by the ſiege of Belgrade, but thoſe foreign ſhips returned homewards. Hungary was at that time under a young prince who was ſtill a minor, whoſe name was Lewis, and ſon of Ladiſlaus; or rather, there were as many princes as great men in the kingdom, who tore it to pieces by their domeſtick diſſenſions, ariſing from a reciprocal emulation, and were greater enemies to one another than to the very Infidels. The grand ſeignior, the better to conceal his deſigns, had ſent an embaſſador to the young king, to notify to him his acceſſion to the empire: but inſtead of receiving that miniſter with the reſpect due to his character, the lords of the council had treated him as a ſpy, and hindered him from returning to his maſter.

THIS was the occaſion of the war. Solyman reſenting this ſhameful violation of the law of nations, after having demanded ſatisfaction for it, but to no purpoſe, ſent Pyrrhus baſha at the head of a great body of horſe to inveſt the town of Belgrade, anciently the capital of the country called Raſcia. This place which was built

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on the edge of an hill at the confluence of the Save and Danube, was, beſides the fortification which nature had beſtowed upon it, ſurrounded with a double wall, flanked at proper diſtances with great towers well provided with artillery; and on an eminence which commanded the town, there was a caſtle called anciently Taurunum. It was ſtrengthened with all the fortifications that art could invent, and was then looked upon as impregnable.

SOLYMAN followed the baſha cloſe, and ſoon appeared at the head of a formidable army. The trenches were opened, batteries of canon were raiſed, and the Turks carried on their works with the utmoſt diligence. All Europe fixed their eyes on the ſiege of a place which they conſidered as one of the bulwarks of Chriſtendom. The knights of Rhodes eſpecially intereſted themſelves in it, and the rather, becauſe they judged if the Turk ſhould carry Belgrade without any oppoſition from the Chriſtian princes, that ſucceſs would probably determine him to undertake the ſiege of Rhodes next.

WHILST they were under this uneaſineſs, the grand maſter fell ill, and was carried off pretty ſuddenly. He was a liberal prince, was magnificent, charitable, a lover of his people, and deſirous to be beloved by them; and what was very rare in that age, he was learned in the dead languages, and ſpoke moſt of the living ones with great facility. His death was ſo much the more conſiderable loſs to the order at this juncture, in that the knights who were going to have war with the porte, could the eaſier have obtained ſuccours from moſt of the Chriſtian princes, he being highly in their eſteem, and having often negotiated with them during his embaſſy at Rome.

THE order not being able to continue without an head, as ſoon as the funeral was ſolemnized, they aſſembled to chuſe him a ſucceſſor. Brother Andrew d'Amaral chancellor of the order, and grand prior of Caſtile, whom we have already mentioned on occaſion of his diſpute with the chevalier de l'Iſle-Adam, demanded that eminent dignity with as much arrogance and

presumption, as if he thought he should thereby do a favour to the order by condescending to accept it. He had not indeed been thought unworthy of it, had he not been the first to do himself that justice: His presumption, and the contempt he discovered for his rivals, occasioned all unanimously to declare against him, so that all the votes were divided only between Sir Thomas Docray, grand prior of England, and brother PHILIP DE VILLIERS DE L'ISLE-ADAM, hospitaller and grand prior of France. The Englishman was distinguished by sublimity of genius, and his great skill in treating with princes, at whose courts he had been employed on important embassies: and in a juncture when Rhodes was threatened with a siege, some regard was also had to the great riches which that knight possessed. L'Isle-Adam for his part had acquired a great consideration and general esteem in the order, by his wise conduct in all his employments, and by his open and candid behaviour, full of frankness and integrity, and which was too natural for ambition and hypocrisy to counterfeit for a long time together.

PHILIP DE VILLIERS DE L'ISLE-ADAM.

THIS lord was then absent; he had no partisans in the assembly but the remembrance of his services, and the knowledge of his virtues. 'Twas owing only to a reputation so well established, that he had a plurality of voices in his favour, so that he was declared grand master.

All the knights applauded the choice which the electors had made, and there was an universal joy over all the island. D'Amaral alone was mad with vexation; and in the first transports of his passion could not help saying to a Spanish commander who was his friend, that l'Isle-Adam should be the last grand master that reigned at Rhodes.

1521. Jan. 22.

TIME, instead of mollifying the violence of his resentment, served only to increase it. 'Tis said, that his private animosity against the person of the grand master grew up to a violent hatred against the order in general, and that being perpetually restless and tormented

mented with rage, he took up a reſolution to extirpate the order itſelf, and deſtroy the mother that nurſed him. Full of theſe deadly deſigns, it is thus that Boſio relates he carried them on; he unboſomed himſelf to a Turkiſh ſlave, whom he had taken in war, a man of parts, and one whom he had found very capable of carrying on an intrigue. The ſlave, who ſaw a proſpect of recovering his liberty by this negotiation, readily entered into his meaſures; and under pretence of going into his own country to procure money for his ranſom, went privately to Conſtantinople. He was entruſted with a letter from the chancellor d'Amaral to the grand ſeignior. In his letter he preſſed that prince to beſiege Rhodes; and in order to convince him of the facility with which he might ſucceed in that enterpriſe, he had annexed an ample memorial to this letter, containing an account of the preſent ſtate of the city, the weakeſt parts of the place, the number of knights and troops provided for its defence, and what proviſions and ammunition it had to ſuſtain a ſiege. He added, that the council had juſt demoliſhed part of the baſtion of Auvergne, in order to rebuild it on a more ſolid foundation, and that if his highneſs would loſe no time in making his army advance, he would find the place all open on that ſide, and in a defenceleſs condition. Solyman was ſtill in Hungary: D'Amaral's ſlave in his abſence delivered his packet to the miniſters, whom he had left at Conſtantinople, which they ſent by an expreſs to the grand ſeignior. That prince was delighted to find in the perſon of the chancellor a privileged ſpy, who having by his dignity admittance into all the councils, could ſend certain and exact advices. They ſent the ſlave back to him with promiſes of a vaſt recompence if he could contribute to the ſucceſs of his highneſs's deſigns. The chancellor, as Boſio ſays, ſtill full of rage, and infatuated by his paſſion, was pleaſed to ſee a way open to his vengeance; and for fear they ſhould be alarmed at his ſlave's return, he gave out that he was only come back to bring him his ranſom. Such an exceſs however of confidence for a

ſlave whom he had ſuffered to go upon his parole, his return, and the great civilities that the chancellor ſhewed him, appeared a little extraordinary; but that lord's authority, and the fear they were under of making a proud haughty man their enemy, who was known to be implacable in his hatred, ſtifled theſe ſuſpicions, or at leaſt prevented their breaking out.

IN the mean time the new grand maſter, having received an account of his election, prepared to ſet out. As he was well informed that Rhodes was threatened with a ſiege, he ſignified it to all his order by a general ſummons, which he ſent into all the ſtates of Chriſtendom. He collected all the reſponſions which he could, and laid them out on warlike ſtores; and after taking leave of the king of Burgundy, came to Marſeilles where he embarked. He went on board the great carrack, and the reſt of his train and equipage, with the ſtores that he was carying to Rhodes, followed in four felucca's. Unluckily, as he was off of Nice, a fire broke out in the carrack, by the careleſſneſs of an officer of his table: the flame ſpread itſelf in a moment into different parts of the ſhip; the ſails and cordage were burnt to aſhes in an inſtant, and flakes of flame and ſmoke made the terror ſtill greater, and likewiſe hindered the ſeamen in the ſervice they were for doing. In this diſorder and confuſion, uſual in ſuch accidents, every body was for throwing themſelves into the ſea to ſwim aſhore, or ſhelter themſelves in the felucca's, which were not far off; but the grand maſter forbad any body to ſtir out of the ſhip on pain of death. A new fear, and their reſpect for his orders, ſerved inſtead of reſolution; the moſt timorous returned to their poſts, and all laboured in concert to extinguiſh the fire, which they at laſt effected: and the carrack was ſaved by the very perſons that would have abandoned it.

SCARCE had the grand maſter eſcaped the danger of the fire, when another element, no leſs formidable, threw him into freſh dangers. There aroſe a furious tempeſt: the ſea was all in motion; the winds blew with

with violence, and raiſed the billows to a dreadful height; the pilot could no longer manage the helm; and, as if heaven had been reſolved, in concert with the ſea, upon the deſtruction of the carrack, the thunder, after having roared for a long time together, fell upon the ſhip, broke into the ſtern room, killed nine men, and broke the grand maſter's ſword to pieces, without hurting the ſcabbard. The ſeamen did not fail to make diſmal preſages from theſe various accidents; and I cannot ſay whether the knights that were with the grand maſter were altogether free from the like fancies, eſpecially at a time when the Turks threatened the iſle of Rhodes, and that men had a great deal of faith in omens. But the grand maſter, without regarding any of theſe vain prognoſticks, put into the port of Syracuſe, got his ſhips refitted, and was preparing to keep on his voyage, when they brought him advice, that Curtogli, a famous corſair, and a favourite of the grand ſignior, was waiting for him as he paſſed with a ſtrong quadron of gallies and ſhips, much ſuperior to his effort.[a] The corſair, beſides the hopes of booty, had formed this enterprize with the deſign of revenging the death of two of his brothers, who had been killed in engagements againſt the knights; and deſigned alſo, if he could make a prize of ſome felucca, or take any knight priſoner, to make an exchange for his third brother, who was at that time a ſlave at Rhodes.

THE principal citizens of Syracuſe endeavoured to perſuade the grand maſter to avoid meeting with the corſair, who was formidable in thoſe ſeas both for his forces and valour: but that great man, who never knew what danger meant, went out of the harbour, crowded all the ſail he could make, made Capo Malio, called alſo St. Angelo, where the infidels waited for him, paſſed it in the night, and arrived ſafe at Rhodes, where he was received with the uſual ceremonies, and with the joy and reſpect due to his dignity and merit. His preſence heightened, as it were, the courage and confidence of the knights: it looked as if he ſeemed to have

[a] Bozio, t. 2. l. 18. p. 625.

have brought an army in his ſingle perſon: no man dreaded any longer a ſiege; ſeveral even wiſhed it, in order to have frequent opportunities of ſignalizing their valour; and Solyman, who was ſo much dreaded in Hungary, ſcarce raiſed the leaſt apprehenſions at Rhodes.

THAT young prince had juſt made himſelf maſter of Belgrade. The happy ſucceſs of that ſiege made him expect the like againſt the city of Rhodes; and beſides the deſire of acquiring glory by ſuch an important conqueſt, he was alſo induced to it by the continual complaints of his trading ſubjects, who were often taken by the knights; and eſpecially by the remonſtrances of the mufti, who was continually repreſenting to him, that thoſe Chriſtian capers diſturbed the pilgrimages to Mecca, and that he was obliged in conſcience to put a ſtop to their cruiſings. Solyman was very zealous for his religion, and well enough diſpoſed to turn his arms that way; but as he was a wiſe prince, and never engaged in any enterprize without communicating it to his council, he laid the matter before them in order to its being debated.

SOME baſha's repreſented to him all the difficulties of it, the fortifications of the place, the valour of the knights as well as of the inhabitants, being moſt of them corſairs; the mighty ſuccours that the grand maſter would infallibly draw from Chriſtendom: that this ſpark might raiſe a great flame, and produce a league and cruſade of all the ſovereigns of Europe; and that his illuſtrious anceſtors, and the ſoldans of Egypt, having in different ages attempted this conqueſt, had been always baffled, and loſt abundance of men without being able to carry their point.

MUSTAPHA, on the contrary, who had married Solyman's ſiſter, and was a very brave general, gueſſing at the ſultan's ſecret inclination, repreſented to him like a true courtier, that all the valour of the knights could never reſiſt his victorious arms; that he had ſuch a great number of troops, who were all ſuch good ſoldiers, that he could cover the whole iſland with his numerous

merous armies; whereas the grand maſter had only an handful of men for his defence; that they had nothing to fear from the Chriſtian princes who were actually in war, and ſo incenſed againſt one another, that the emperor Charles V. choſe rather to ſuffer the taking of Belgrade, though the taking of it opened a paſſage into the hereditary dominions of his family, than make peace with the king of France, or draw any detachment from the armies he had in the field againſt that prince, to ſend to the ſuccour of the king of Hungary his ally; that after all it was a ſort of diſhonour to the Ottoman houſe, conſidering the high pitch of grandeur to which it was arrived, to ſuffer any longer in the very heart of their empire, a republick of corſairs that roved over the ſeas at pleaſure, diſturbed the commerce of Syria, Paleſtine and Egypt, and were daily fixing a price on the liberty of his ſubjects; that Rhodes, and the other iſles of the order ſerved for an aſylum to fugitive ſlaves, malecontents and rebels; and what was moſt to be conſidered, that they could not be ignorant, that in times of peace between the ſeveral princes of Chriſtendom, the grand maſters were always taking that opportunity of propoſing the conqueſt of the kingdom of Jeruſalem; that in order to engage them in ſuch an enterprize, which was what they always had moſt at heart, they had offered all the forces of their order, and that ſo long as the knights ſhould be poſſeſſed of the port of Rhodes in the eaſt, a port capable of receiving the Chriſtian fleets, there would be always reaſon to fear ſome cruſade from the princes of the weſt.

SOLYMAN preferred this laſt opinion, as being moſt agreeable to that ambition which is inſeparable from ſo vaſt a power: Pyrrhus, and the other baſhas, though of a different ſentiment, came over with great ſubmiſſion to that of their ſovereign: a war againſt the knights, and the ſiege of Rhodes were therefore reſolved upon. The ſultan named Muſtapha baſha, his favourite and brother-in-law, to be general of the land army, Curtogli to be great admiral, and Achmet baſha, an able engineer, to have the direction of the works

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at the ſiege; and appointed Pyrrhus baſha his old governor, a man in whom he entirely confided, to go along with Muſtapha, as a counſellor to that young general, whoſe capacity and prudence might not perhaps be equal to his courage and valour. The ſultan, after the diſtribution of theſe ſeveral employments, in order to find how the grand maſter ſtood affected, wrote to him by an embaſſador, whom he ſent on purpoſe to congratulate him, as it were, on his promotion to the dignity of grand maſter. He propoſed to him the keeping of peace, and maintaining a good correſpondence together; but he concluded his letter by telling him that he had taken Belgrade, as if he were minded to intimidate him with the fear of meeting with the ſame fate as that unhappy city had undergone. As the ſtile of theſe kind of letters gives a better idea of the character of princes, and the manners of the age they live in, than meer extracts, we have thought the reader would not be diſpleaſed to meet with that of Solyman, and the grand maſter's anſwer, in this place. Solyman's letter was wrote in Greek, and drawn up almoſt in theſe terms.*

"SULTAN Solyman, by the grace of God, king of "kings, ſovereign of ſovereigns, moſt high emperor "of Bizantium and Trebizond, moſt mighty king of "Perſia, Arabia, Syria and Egypt, ſupreme lord of "Europe and Aſia, prince of Mecca and Aleppo, poſ"ſeſſor of Jeruſalem, and lord of the univerſal ſea.

To PHILIP VILLIERS DE L'ISLE-ADAM, GRAND MASTER OF THE ISLE OF RHODES, GREETING.

"I CONGRATULATE thee on thy new dignity, "and thy arrival in thy dominions: I wiſh that thou "mayſt reign there happily, and with more glory than "thy predeceſſors. It ſhall be in thy power to have "a ſhare in our good will. Enjoy then our friend"ſhip, and as our friend, be not the laſt to congra"tulate us on the conqueſts we have juſt made in "Hun-

* Bozio. t. 2. l. 18. p. 627.

" Hungary, where we have reduced the important " fortreſs of Belgrade, after having deſtroyed all that " durſt reſiſt us with our dreadful ſword. Adieu. From " our camp the....., and of the hegira the .....

THIS letter was read in full council; and they were ſurpriſed, that whilſt Solyman was offering, as it were, peace with one hand, he ſhould make an oſtentation of his formidable power with the other, and that his veſſels ſhould inſult thoſe of the order, or ſuch as ſailed under its banner. The grand maſter did not neglect to anſwer that prince, but in ſuch terms, as the reader will obſerve, that might give him to underſtand that they were equally diſpoſed at Rhodes either to conclude a peace, or continue the war.

F. PHILIP VILLIERS DE LISLE-ADAM, GRAND MASTER OF RHODES,

TO SOLYMAN, SULTAN OF THE TURKS.

" I UNDERSTAND very well the meaning of thy " letter, which thy embaſſador has brought me: thy " propoſals of a peace between us, are as agreeable " to me as they will be diſpleaſing to Curtogli. That " corſair, at my paſſage from France, did all he could " to ſurpriſe me, but not ſucceeding in his project, and " not caring to go out of theſe ſeas without having " done us ſome damage, he entered the river Lycia, " and attempted to carry off two merchant ſhips be- " longing to our ports. He had likewayes attacked a " bark belonging to ſome Candiots, but the gallies " of the order, which I ſent out of the port of Rhodes, " forced him to let go his hold, and make off as faſt " as he could for fear of falling into our power. A- " dieu.....from Rhodes the.....

As the Turks were not very ſcrupulous with regard to the law of nations, the grand maſter did not think fit, without a paſs, to ſend his letter by a knight whom they

they might probably detain. They gave it to a Greek, a private man of the city of Rhodes. Solyman and his miniſters found, by reading this letter, that they had to deal with a prince of a firm and intrepid character, one who was not eaſily terrified. Pyrrhus baſha, an old man, as great a politician as a ſoldier, propoſed in the council, that they ſhould write again to the grand maſter in order to make a new overture of peace; that they ſhould tell him that they durſt not preſent his letter to the grand ſeignior by reaſon of the mean character of the bearer; but that if he would ſend one of his principal knights to the porte, there was room to hope that his negotiation might end in a ſolid peace. The deſign of this miniſter was to draw one of the firſt of the order to Conſtantinople, then to ſeize his perſon, and force him by torture to give them an account of the ſtate of the place, and the forces of the order; which might make one doubt of the intelligence which, it is pretended, d'Amaral held with the grand ſeignior, notwithſtanding its being poſitively aſſerted by contemporary hiſtorians: not but Solyman had likeways the ſame advices from the Jewiſh phyſician: that perfidious wretch was continually urging him by his letters, to haſten his armament; but as traitors, in order to make themſelves better liſtened to, always leſſen the difficulties of an enterprize which they themſelves propoſe, the grand ſeignior and his council, perhaps from the fear of a double treachery, would have been very glad, before they engaged in the ſiege, to know from ſome knight, whether the advices that they received from their ſpies were true, and whether there was no exaggeration in their relations.

THE grand ſeignior entered into the views of his miniſter; and in order to endeavour, under the ſpecious pretence of a negotiation, to get ſome knight ſent to Conſtantinople, he ordered them to diſpatch a new expreſs to Rhodes in Pyrrhus's name. That baſha wrote to the grand maſter to aſſure him, that the ſultan was very well diſpoſed to treat of peace in good earneſt, but that out of fear of affronting the majeſty of ſo

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great a prince, they did not dare to preſent his letter to him, becauſe of the mean character of his agent; but that if he would ſend any lord of his council with another letter, and furniſh him with full powers, he would readily introduce him to the porte. He added, that the grand ſeignior, being ſurprized that he had no anſwer to his firſt letter, had given a ſecond to the meſſenger, which he did not queſtion but he would anſwer in a manner ſuitable to the majeſty and formidable power of ſo great an emperor. The expreſs indeed had a letter from Solyman to the grand maſter, wherein that prince, as we ſhall find, in order to oblige him to ſue for peace, makes a great oſtentation of his deſigns and forces.

"We have been aſſured, ſays he to him, that the "letter which our highneſs wrote to thee, has been "delivered into thy hands, and that it gave thee more "aſtoniſhment than pleaſure. Be aſſured, that I ſhall "not be ſatisfied with the conqueſt of Belgrade, but "propoſe to myſelf another of as great importance in "a little time, of which thou ſhalt ſoon have notice; "thou and thy knights being ſcarce ever out of my "memory."

As this ſecond letter had more the air of a challenge, or a declaration of war, than of a preliminary of peace, the grand maſter thought himſelf obliged to anſwer it in as lofty terms.

"I am not ſorry, ſays he to him in his anſwer, that "thou remembereſt me and the knights of my order: "thou ſpeakeſt to me of the conqueſt thou haſt made "in Hungary, and the deſign thou haſt, as thou in-"formeſt me, of undertaking another enterpriſe which "thou hopeſt will have the ſame ſucceſs; but conſi-"der, that of all the projects that are formed by man, "none are more uncertain than thoſe that depend upon "the fortune of war. Adieu."

THE grand maſter having thought himſelf obliged to anſwer the ſultan's indirect menaces with ſo much reſolution, wrote likeways to Pyrrhus, telling him, that if the ſultan his maſter deſired a peace with greater ſincerity than appeared by his letters, he needeed only ſend him ſome hoſtages, or elſe a paſs ſealed with the great ſeal of the empire, and that as ſoon as it was come to hand, he would ſend one of the moſt conſiderable knights of the order to Conſtantinople to hear what propoſals they would make him. But a brigantine of the order, commanded by a ſerving brother, being taken by the Turks near Rhodes, that act of hoſtility was taken for a declaration of war.

THE grand maſter prepared for it with all the courage and precaution of an old captain, who had paſſed his whole life in war: he enlarged the ditch and ſunk it deeper; he repaired the fortifications, and added ſeveral new ones to the place.

TO deprive the Turks of forage, they, by his orders, cut down the corn, though it was not yet ripe: ſome country houſes, as well as churches, ſituated without the town, were demoliſhed, and the materials carried into the town, for fear the enemy ſhould make uſe of their ruins to raiſe platforms, and plant their artillery on them. From another precaution, and in order to be well ſupplied with pioneers, they obliged all the peaſants of the country to retire into the town, and recalled at the ſame time all the adventurers and privateers that were cruiſing againſt the infidels under the banner of the order, whoſe protection they had, as well as free admittance and full ſecurity upon occaſion in the port of Rhodes.

BUT it was neceſſary to provide for the ſubſiſtence of theſe people as well as for that of the knights, the citizens, and the garriſon. This was the firſt care of the grand maſter: he appointed three commiſſioners for that purpoſe; and to give them the greater credit in the execution of their office, he choſe them out of the grand croſſes. The firſt was Gabriel de Pommerols, great commander and lieutenant general to the

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grand maſter; John Buck Turcopilier of the language of England was the ſecond; and chancellor d'Amaral was named for the third. Theſe three noblemen viſited all the magazines carefully; and though they found moſt of them full, yet the grand maſter, from an opinion that what on ſuch occaſions is called ſufficient, does not always prove ſo, propoſed in the council to ſend immediately to Naples, Sicily and Candia for a greater quantity of wheat, wine, powder and arms; and to endeavour likeways to get five hundred archers and bow-men from Candia, the Candiots in all ages excelling even the moſt warlike nations in the managing of thoſe inſtruments. The chancellor, who, as they pretend, had ſold his religion to the infidels, in order to prevent the effects of the grand maſter's precautions, repreſented, that by news juſt arrived from the Chriſtian iſles of the Archipelago, they were informed that the Turkiſh armament was not ſo much deſigned againſt the iſles of the order as againſt that of Cyprus, and perhaps Italy itſelf; that for near forty years in which he had been in the order, he had frequently obſerved, that the Turks had occaſioned it more expence by the jealouſy that their armaments gave them, than if they had actually attacked Rhodes; that indeed the care and precautions that the grand maſter took could never be ſufficiently applauded; but they might defer the execution of them for ſome time longer, for fear of draining the treaſury of the order in making preparations to guard againſt a ſtorm that would probably fall on ſome other place.

THE grand maſter, who was ignorant of the motives of this perfidious advice, imputed it only to an injudicious ſpirit of parſimony; but he declared, that he had letters from a faithful ſpy that he could depend on, whom he kept at Conſtantinople, and who aſſured him that the grand ſeignior's armament was deſigned only for the ſiege of Rhodes; that he had given orders to let no ſhip go out of his ports that was bound towards Rhodes; that they were labouring hard in preparing a train of large artillery, which is never uſed but in ſieges;

es; that the ſultan had cauſed a great quantity of tools to be made proper for pioneering, and that moſt of the troops were filing towards Lycia, where they were to embark in order to be tranſported into the iſle of Rhodes. The grand maſter added, that in an affair of ſuch importance, it was dangerous to give way to a too timorous policy, and that it was much better to hazard ſome expence than ſee the iſland covered with enemies before they had provided for its defence.

THE grand maſter's advice prevailed: they got wheat from Naples and Sicily, ſo that there was no want of any thing during the whole courſe of the ſiege, but powder, which happened, by the treachery of the chancellor, who made a falſe report of the quantity in the magazines. They had alſo like to have wanted wine through the ſame perfidiouſneſs, the chancellor having, under a pretence of thriftineſs, rejected the propoſals of three merchants of Rhodes, that offered to ſupply the city with it at a reaſonable price. But the grand maſter, whoſe views extended on all ſides, ſent a ſerving brother into Candia, Anthony Boſio by name, uncle to the author of the annals of the order, with orders to provide great ſtore of wine, and to procure leave alſo from the governor of the iſland to levy five hundred foot. Boſio arriving in Candia, had no difficulty in getting the wine, which he ſhipped off in fifteen brigantines; he was even cunning enough to engage a young Venetian gentleman, whoſe name was Bonaldi, and who had at that time in the port of Rhodes a ſhip freighted with wine, and bound for Conſtantinople, to alter his courſe and carry it to Rhodes.

BUT the ſerving brother did not find it as eaſy a matter to levy ſoldiers. The governor not only denied him leave, but, as if he dreaded Sólyman's reſentment, forbid, by ſound of trumpet, all perſons whatſoever, under pain of corporal puniſhment, to liſt themſelves with the grand maſter's agent, or quit the iſland. Notwithſtanding which, the dextrous Rhodian made a ſhift to get his recruit, and above five hundred men, diſguiſed like merchants and ſeamen, got on board the brigan-

brigantines, either unknown to the governor, or without his being willing to take notice of it. This cunning negotiator did another piece of ſervice to the order before he ſet ſail. There was at that time in the iſle of Candia an excellent engineer, Gabriel Martinengo by name, a gentleman of Breſcia, a ſubject of the republic, and of an antient and illuſtrious family: the ſenate had given him a penſion of twelve hundred crowns to ſuperintend over all the fortifications of that iſland. Boſio, who foreſaw how uſeful a man of his abilities would be in a place that was beſieged, propoſed to him to go to Rhodes, and to ſhare with the knights in the glory which they hoped to acquire in the defence of it. Martinengo, a man of true valour, and who was both a brave ſoldier and a great engineer, offered chearfully to accept his invitation, provided he could procure a diſcharge from the governor.

BOSIO parted for Rhodes with his ſoldiers and proviſions of wine. He arrived ſafe in that place; and, having given the grand maſter an account of his voyage, he diſcourſed with him about the negotiation he had entered into with Martinengo. The grand maſter immediately ſaw the advantage that a man of his abilities would be to them in the preſent juncture: he ſent Boſio immediately back to Candia, with a letter to the governor, wherein he entreated him in the moſt preſſing terms, to give that officer leave to come and defend a place which ſerved for a bulwark to the very iſlands of the republick. But the governor flatly refuſed to grant it him, and went ſo far as to ſend for Martinengo, and give him expreſs orders not to ſtir out of the iſland. But that officer, not troubling himſelf about the conſequences, put on a diſguiſe, and, in concert with Boſio, came to the ſea ſide, and got on board a felucca that waited for him in a bye-creek of the iſle.

THE governor having notice that the engineer had diſappeared, cauſed a ſtrict ſearch to be made after him in the principal houſes. He ſent to his own, where he confiſcated all his effects, and not queſtioning but he was

embarked in ſome paſſage ſhip, he ſent two gallies to purſue him, with orders to bring him back dead or alive. Martinengo and Boſio ſeeing themſelves purſued, took down the maſt of the felucca, drew their oars into their veſſel, brought it cloſe under a rock of the iſland, covering it with ſails made of whitiſh linen, almoſt of the ſame colour as the rock that the felucca lay under. By this artifice, and perhaps by the ſecret orders of the governor, they eſcaped the gallies, which returning back into the port, they ſet ſail, paſſed in the night time through ſome Turkiſh veſſels, which by means of Boſio's ſpeaking the Greek language, took the brigantine to belong to their own ſquadron, and arrived ſafe at Rhodes. Martinengo was mighty well received by the grand maſter, who knew his birth and his talents. The principal commanders, following his example, ſhewed him the utmoſt reſpect: every body was ſtriving to ſhew him how ſenſible they were of his merit. Martinengo alſo was delighted to ſee himſelf eſteemed by that noble body of knights, the beſt judges of valour, and which was compoſed of the moſt illuſtrious perſons in all the ſtates of Chriſtendom. From theſe ſentiments, that favoured perhaps too much of human nature, he paſſed to thoſe of a particular veneration, when he ſaw theſe knights and warriors preparing themſelves like Chriſtians and true religious for the defence of religion. Under a ſoldier's habit, and with a military equipage, he admired their contempt of the world, their lively faith, and ſincere diſengagement from the things of this life: he was particularly edified to ſee moſt of them preparing themſelves for a bloody ſiege, by a frequent receiving of the ſacraments.

THESE reflections gave riſe to his vocation: he ſaw himſelf expoſed to the ſame dangers, without the ſame holy preparation: God touched his heart; he ran to the grand maſter's palace, threw himſelf at his feet, and, inflamed with zeal to ſacrifice his life for the defence of the faith, entreated that prince to honour him with his croſs. The grand maſter took him up and

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embraced him tenderly, aſſuring him, that he would go immediately and propoſe his requeſt to the council, and acquaint them with his pious diſpoſitions. The votes were unanimous in his favour: the whole order was delighted to aſſociate ſo excellent a man in it; the grand maſter gave him the habit, and adminiſtred the vows to him in a full aſſembly; and to acknowledge the generoſity wherewith he had abandoned his patrimony, and the great penſions he had from the republic of Venice, the order aſſigned him a penſion of twelve hundred crowns, till ſuch time as he might have ſome commandry or priory of the like value given him. As a farther favour to the new knight, the grand maſter made him the next day a grand croiſ, and gave him at the ſame time the general inſpection over all the fortifications: and the grand marſhal, who is ſtanding general of all the troops of the order, divided as it were his authority with him: he admitted him, out of the high regard he had to his great capacity, into the command and authority which his poſt gave him over all the forces in the iſland.

'TWAS by the advice and directions of Martinengo, that they repaired the walls and towers; he cauſed them to raiſe the ramparts higher: they built ravelins before the gates of the city; made caſemates in the flanks of the baſtions, and in the counterſcarp of the ditch mines filled with powder, to which they might ſet fire by the help of a train laid under ground: within the place, he cauſed them to build new forts, cuts, ditches, intrenchments, barricades, and all kinds of neceſſary defences that a perſon of his capacity, and who foreſaw every thing that might happen, could oppoſe againſt the attacks of the beſiegers.

WHILST the order was receiving ſuch advantages from his skill and his great talents, particularly at a time when they were going to be beſieged, there happened a kind of deſertion among the knights of the language of Italy. The principal of that nation complained to the grand maſter and the council, that pope Adrian VI, who had juſt ſucceeded Leo X. diſpoſed in an abſolute

ſolute manner, and contrary to their rights, of all the commandries of Italy, and thereupon asked leave to go to Rome to complain of it. The grand maſter did not think fit in the preſent juncture to grant them the leave that they deſired: his refuſal exaſperated them; and d'Amaral, who loſt no opportunity of weakening the order, inſinuated to them, that they themſelves ought to take a permiſſion which he denied them; that l'Iſle-Adam, who was a Frenchman by birth, did not love the language of Italy; that in order to keep them low, he was not perhaps concerned at the pope's taking from them the commandries annexed to their language; that the grand maſter ſpread and encouraged the reports of an approaching ſiege, with the view only of having a pretence to diſpoſe more freely of the funds that were in the treaſury of the order; and that after all, it would be a diſhonour to them, if after ſhedding their blood ſo often in the defence of the order, they ſhould, by an odious diſtinction, be the only perſons deprived of the recompence ſo juſtly due to their ſervices.

THE Italian knights, ſeduced by this perfidious advice, left Rhodes without leave, and retired into the iſle of Candia. The grand maſter, juſtly provoked at ſo ſcandalous a diſobedience, ordered them to be proſecuted as rebels and deſerters; and the council deprived them of the habit by an expreſs ſentence to this purpoſe: however juſt this ſentence might be, the order nevertheleſs loſt in them a conſiderable number of valiant knights. Some of their friends, better affected than the chancellor, went over to Candia with the grand maſter's private conſent; and after having dextrouſly entered into their complaints and reſentments, they repreſented to them, that there was no longer any doubt to be made of the ſiege of Rhodes; that they would ſee the iſland immediately covered over with the Turks, and that though the motive of their journey to Rome was never ſo juſt, they yet could not prevent their enemies ſpreading a report that they had made it at ſuch a juncture, with a view only of getting out of the way

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of thoſe dangers to which their brethren were going to be expoſed.

THE certainty of the ſiege of Rhodes, and the fear they were under of being ſuſpected to have withdrawn themſelves from ſo cowardly a motive, prevailed over their reſentment. They returned to Rhodes to throw themſelves at the grand maſter's feet; and that they might obtain pardon for their fault, they proteſted that they would waſh it out with their blood, and with that of the Infidels. The grand maſter received them like a tender father; and after having given them a wiſe reproof for their diſobedience, the generous old man embraced them with great tenderneſs, gave them the habit again, and promiſed them, that as ſoon as they ſhould be free from the war, with which they were threatened, the whole order ſhould intereſt itſelf in their affair; that he would make it his own, and that as their complaints were juſt and reaſonable, he was in hopes, that the ſeveral princes of Chriſtendom would not refuſe him their good offices with the pope.

THIS ſtorm being happily calmed, the grand maſter immediately diſpatched knights to all the courts of Europe, who were to ſolicit the pope and the other princes of Chriſtendom to ſend him ſpeedy ſuccours: but the event ſhewed that the order could depend on nothing but its own ſtrength. Moſt of the princes, engaged in war with one another, and minding only their private intereſts, neglected thoſe of religion; and the pope himſelf, though a virtuous pontiff, yet as he owed his dignity to the credit and recommendation of the emperor Charles V. whoſe preceptor he had been, he durſt not diſpoſe of the troops and money of the holy ſee without his privity and conſent.

BROTHER James de Bourbon, commander of Oiſemont, and natural ſon to Lewis de Bourbon, elected biſhop of Liege, a prince of the houſe of France, tells us in his relation of the ſiege of Rhodes, that upon the requeſt made in the grand maſter's name by the chevalier d'Anſoyville to the king of France, this religious prince who had a great affection for the order, gave him

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a power to fit out all the veſſels that he ſhould find in the ports of Provence, and carry them to Rhodes. But the commanders in that province, fearing to be attacked by the emperor, delayed executing his orders: ſo that he was forced to go back to court to ſolicit for new ones that might be more particular: and theſe voyages took up ſo much time, that winter came on, and the proper ſeaſon for putting to ſea was over.

'TWAS probably from the ſame misfortune, that a ſtrong carrack, which the chevalier Hyſerant of the language of Auvergne had fitted out at Genoa, and freighted with *ammunition and proviſions*, ran aground near Monegal: though they ſuſpected at that time, that the winds and the ſea, had not ſo much contributed to that accident, as the policy of the Genoeſe, who were afraid of incurring the reſentment of the Turks. Nor is it leſs difficult to diſcover the motive of the inactivity of Fabricio Pignatelli prior of Barletta, of Charles Queſvalle, of Lully de St. Stephen, and John Baptiſt Caraffa bailiff of Naples, who having by the grand maſter's directions, purchaſed with the order's money, a great quantity of ammunition and proviſions, never ſent any of it to the ſuccour of Rhodes.

THE grand maſter being in no certainty of theſe remote ſuccours, placed all his confidence in the protection of heaven, and in the valour of his knights. Like a man of war and a great captain, he neglected no precaution neceſſary to prevent being ſurpriſed by the Infidels. One of the firſt of his many cares, ſo worthy of his zeal and courage, was a general review of all the knights and regular troops; which amounted in all to about ſix hundred knights, and four thouſand five hundred ſoldiers; and with this handful of men, he undertook to defend the place againſt the inundations of thoſe formidable armies that Solyman brought into the field in all his enterpriſes. The townſmen indeed of Rhodes took up arms, and ſome companies were formed out of them: they alſo recalled the Rhodian privateers that were out at ſea; theſe were poſted in

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the town, and were charged with the defence of the port. The country peaſants were deſigned to ſerve as pioneers; but they could not afterwards make any uſe at all of the common people of the town, who were inſenſible to any paſſion but that of fear, and could never be brought to look danger in the face. The grand maſter gave brother Didier Tholon of St. Jaille bailiff of Manoque the direction of the artillery, and the chevaliers de Nuëres and Britto were entruſted with the carrying on of the works under the orders of the bailiff de Martinengo. The ſlaves of Rhodes; and ſuch as belonged to the private perſons, were employed in hollowing the ditches, and in the fortifications which they added to the baſtion of Auvergne: they repaired the mills: they built new ovens: the port was ſhut up with a double chain, one before its mouth, the other within it, from the tower of St. Nicholas to the tower of the mills; and to prevent the Infidels from ſeizing on the mole, as they had attempted in the former ſiege, and advancing by means of that bank as far as the gate of St. Catharine, they ſunk at the entrance of the bay, where the Tunny fiſhery was, ſeveral ſhips loaden with ſtones: the walls were at the ſame time lined with artillery: they carried arms, granadoes, fire-pots, and large ſtones upon the ramparts and baſtions; there never had been ſeen a greater diligence or a more compleat order.

THE knights and the Greek gentlemen, the townſmen as well as officers, the ſoldier and mariner, the very prieſts and monks, each of theſe employed himſelf readily and without confuſion upon whatever was preſcribed him. The grand maſter was preſent in all places, he alone inſpected the carrying on of theſe ſeveral works; his preſence and capacity advanced them ſtill more than the many hands employed about them; and few princes and governors ever gave ſuch manifeſt proofs in a beſieged place of ſo perfect an underſtanding of the art of war, joined to a calm valour, incapable of being diſcompoſed either by the greatneſs or

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the variety of the dangers with which he was afterwards ſurrounded.

BUT for the better underſtanding of the importance and uſefulneſs of the precautions which he took, though we have in the former book taken ſome notice of the ſituation of this place, it may nevertheleſs perhaps be proper to give a fuller account of it, and take notice likewiſe of the additional fortifications that had been made ſince the laſt ſiege.

THE city of Rhodes, as we have already obſerved, is ſituated by the ſea ſide, on an hill which terminates with a gentle deſcent into a plain, thereby making the circumvallation of it eaſy. 'Tis divided into the high and low town; the grand maſter's palace was in the high town, and ſerved as a caſtle and a citadel to it at the ſame time. All the knights were lodged near the grand maſter's palace in the ſame quarter; and all the ſecular and married perſons, as well townſmen as artificers, dwelt in the lower town. The place on the ſide towards the country ſeems to be of a round figure, but when ſeen from the ſea, repreſents a perfect creſcent. There are two ports belonging to it; the larger is ſquare and ſpacious, but not very ſafe when certain winds blow. At the entrance of this port on the right ſtands the tower of St. Nicholas, a monument of the liberality of Philip the good duke of Burgundy. This tower, well provided with artillery, was joined to a baſtion that lay behind it, and had a curtain which ran up to the walls of the town, and made one of the ſides of the port. On the other ſide, over againſt this tower, ſtood an old caſtle, to which the knights gave the name of the caſtle St. Angelo. This caſtle and the tower, which were ſomewhat more than an hundred yards diſtant from one another, were built upon the two rocks, upon which it is pretended, that the feet of the great brazen Coloſſus ſtood in former times, and which was of ſo prodigious a bulk, that the greateſt veſſels, as we are told, might paſs with all their ſails ſpread between its legs. The baſtion adjoining to the tower of St. Nicholas, was by the

the ſea ſide, provided with nine great pieces of cannon, which commanded the entry of the port ſo entirely, that no ſhip could enter in on any ſide. The little port, or port of the gallies, was covered towards the ſea with a narrow neck of rock, that ran out from the firm land, and had a caſtle upon it, called by the knights the caſtle of St. Elme or St. Erme. This port is more ſecure than large, and may hold ſeveral gallies; but the mouth of it is ſo narrow, that there cannot above one enter at a time. They ſhut it up every evening with a chain that was faſtened to a little tower at the farther end of a molé which runs about twenty five or thirty paces out into the ſea; the other end of the chain was faſtened to a piece of rock that jutted out from the land ſeven or eight paces from the caſtle. Near the port of the gallies ſtood the arſenal where they uſed to be built, and over againſt the baſtion which is between the two ports, there is a large tower with a ditch, and three great pieces of cannon, which defended the entrance of this laſt port. Above the prince's palace, and the inns of the languages, were a great number of churches, among which that of St. John, the patron of the order, was remarkable for the greatneſs of the edifice, and the height and fine workmanſhip of its ſteeple. All theſe noble buildings, together with the fortifications both antient and modern, made Rhodes one of the fineſt cities of the eaſt. It was ſurrounded by a double, others ſay with a triple encloſure of walls, fortified with thirteen large towers, built after the antique faſhion, five of which lay within a fort of ravelin and baſtion, which the hiſtorians of the time call bulwarks: and theſe bulwarks were covered by barbacans or fauſſe-brayes, and other advanced works. The ditch was large and deep: the counterſcarp well faced and paliſado'd: all that lay open in the parts adjacent to the place, was expoſed to an infinite number of batteries, compoſed of cannon of different bores, according to the nearneſs or diſtance of the places in view. Rhodes ſeemed to defy an attack on all ſides; and from the glacis to the body of the

place, there was nothing but fortifications heaped one upon another, and batteries that ſuffered no approaches to be made without danger and loſs of men.

WE have ſaid, upon the credit of the hiſtorians of that age, that there were five bulwarks or baſtions.

THE grand maſter committed the defence of them to five old knights that had given ſignal proofs of their capacity and courage on many occaſions. The chevalier du Meſnil had the care of defending the baſtion of Auvergne; brother Francis de Carrieres was poſted in that of Spain; Nicholas Huſſey was to command in that of England; Berenger de Lioncel in that of Provence; and Andelot Gentili undertook to defend the baſtion of Italy. The grand maſter diſtributed at the ſame time the beſt part of his troops upon the ramparts, and divided them according to their quarters. Brother Raimond de Ricard, the oldeſt commander of the language of Provence, was at the head of a brigade to take care of a poſt that bore the ſame name. Raimond Roger of the language of Auvergne was pitched upon for the quarter of his language; Joachim de St. Aubin with the French knights was to defend the wall from the Franque tower, as far as the gate of St. Ambroſe, and from that gate as far as that of St. George. The Germans were poſted under the conduct of the commander Valdners: William Ouazon commanded in the quarter of the Engliſh; George Emar in that of Italy; John de Barbaran and Ernard Sollier were to defend the poſts of Caſtile and Arragon, where the ditches were neither broad nor deep enough. The quarter called St. Mary de la Victoire was ſtill weaker: the grand maſter undertook the defence of it himſelf, quitted his palace, and lodged at the foot of the wall with ſome knights that he had reſerved to fight under his own command, and near his perſon.

BESIDES this diſtribution, the grand maſter choſe likewiſe four lords, all of them grand croſſes, to whom they gave the title of ADJUTANT CAPTAINS or GENERALS, who with the companies under their command, were a ſort of corps de reſerve, and were

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to march to ſuch places as were moſt preſſed. The firſt of theſe captains was d'Amaral, whoſe fidelity they did not as yet ſuſpect. His buſineſs was to ſuſtain thoſe that defended the poſts of Auvergne and Germany; brother John Buck, Turcopilier of the order, and a knight of the language of England, was appointed for the quarter of Spain and England; brother Peter de Cluys, grand prior of France, was to ſuſtain thoſe of his own nation, and the poſts of Caſtile and Portugal; and brother Gregory de Morgut, grand prior of Navarre, was aſſigned to march to the ſuccour of the poſts of Provence and Italy. The grand maſter added to theſe four lords, brother Gabriel de Pommero's his lieutenant general, who without having any ſettled poſt and quarter, was to go to all places where there ſhould be need; and the grand maſter at the head of his guards, commanded by the chevalier de Bonneval, of the language of Auvergne, reſerved the ſame function to himſelf.

WE have already obſerved, that before the firſt ſiege they carried into the city a ſtatue of the holy virgin, which was reverʼd in a church dedicated to her, and built upon Mont-Philerme. They took the ſame precaution before this ſecond ſiege, and all the clergy and people went in proceſſion to the church to take it, and brought it into the city, whereof ſhe was conſidered as the protectreſs, and depoſited it in the church of St. Mark.

THE tower of St. Nicholas being looked upon as the moſt important poſt, and as the key of Rhodes, the grand maſter entruſted the defence of it to brother Goyot de Caſtelane, of the language of Provence, an old knight who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a great number of brave actions. Twenty knights and three hundred foot entered into the fortreſs under his command; they gave ſix hundred men to the knights Claude de St. Prix and John Boniface, both Frenchmen, and to Lopez d'Aiala and Hugh Capon Spaniards, to patrol round the city night and day in their turn, and to maintain good order in it, with power to judge and

condemn malefactors to death, reſerving however a liberty of appealing to the grand maſter. This prince, fearing that the four grand croſſes, whom he had choſe for adjutant captains, would not, during the courſe of of the ſiege, be ſufficient to carry relief to all places that ſhould be attacked, added four others to them, viz. Anaſtaſius de ſainte Camelle, Guyot Dazas, French knights, Marin Furſan and Raimond Marquet, Spaniards, and gave each of them a company of a hundred and fifty men. The grand marſhal, according to the rights of his office, gave the great ſtandard of the order to Anthony de Grolee of the province of Dauphine, a knight of diſtinguiſhed valour, and well worthy of ſo honourable a truſt. The chevalier de Tinteville, a relation of the grand maſter's, was appointed to carry the ſtandard of the holy crucifix, and the chevalier Henri de Mauſelle, one of the officers of the grand maſter's houſhold, carried his particular ſtandard.

WHILST the grand maſter was employed in aſſigning the knights their ſeveral employments, and the quarters which they were to defend, they ſaw that the Turks were in the night making ſignals of fire upon that part of the coaſt of Lycia that lies oppoſite to the iſle of Rhodes.

THE grand maſter, that he might not neglect any thing, ordered a French knight [a], whoſe name was Menneton, to take his pink and go with a Rhodian named Jaxi, who ſpoke the Turkiſh language, to find out the meaning of thoſe fires. The French knight purſuant to his orders put to ſea, and coming pretty near the coaſt, he perceived ſeveral Turkiſh ſoldiers, diſguiſed like merchants, ſtanding by the ſide of a fountain. Jaxi asked them the reaſon of their ſignals, and enquired at the ſame time for a Turkiſh merchant of his acquaintance, who had formerly traded at Rhodes. They anſwered him, that that merchant was not far off, that he was coming thither, and that he might ſee him if he would come aſhore. The Rhodian

[a] Relation du commandeur de Bourbon p. 13.

an excuſed himſelf, unleſs they would ſend an hoſtage to his commander: the Turks agreed to it, the exchange was made; but as ſoon as Jaxi was aſhore, theſe perfidious wretches, contrary to the law of nations, bound him, hurried him away in all haſte to Conſtantinople, and delivered him to Pyrrhus baſha, the author and director of this piece of treachery. Mennetou thought to take his revenge on the Turkiſh hoſtage, but when he came back to Rhodes, they found that he was only a ſorry peaſant, whom they had dreſſed in a ſilk veſt, and from whom the grand maſter and council could get no manner of information.

IN the mean time Pyrrhus having the Rhodian in his power, endeavoured to get an account from him of the ſtate of the city of Rhodes; and not being able to gain upon him by civilities and hopes of great reward, he put him to ſuch violent torture for ſeveral days together, that the Greek, no longer able to bear it, anſwered to the interrogatories that were put to him, and died ſoon after. Pyrrhus acquainted the grand ſeignior with the Rhodian's depoſition, and aſſured his maſter, that there were not above five or ſix thouſand men in arms at Rhodes. Solyman reſolved immediately to begin the ſiege; but as it was a rule with him never to begin any war without a previous declaration of it, he ſent one by an expreſs who went into Lycia, and according to cuſtom made the uſual ſignals with fires, as had been done by thoſe who carried off Jaxi.

THE grand maſter, who did not know of his death, fancied immediately that the Turks had ſent him back. The knight Boniface d'Aluys went by his orders with a galley to receive him. When he arrived near the coaſt, he ſaw ſome Turks on horſeback, who without ſaying any thing of Jaxi, told him they were come with letters from the grand ſeignior to the grand maſter, and that if they would wait a little while, they would go fetch them, inviting at the ſame time the Truchman or interpreter of the galley to come aſhore to re-

ceive them. But the chevalier d'Aluys, fearing another trick like that which was played the chevalier de Mennetou, would not ſuffer him to go. Being likeway apprehenſive of another ambuſcade, and of there being ſome veſſels in a readineſs to ſurpriſe and ſeize on his galley, he told them, that he was going away that very moment, and that if they had any letters to ſend to the grand maſter, they might deliver them to him. The Turks ſeeing him ready to ſail off, tied the packet of letters to a ſtone, and threw it on ſhip-board. He carried the packet to the grand maſter: it was opened in full council: they found in it a letter of Solyman in the form of a declaration of war, directed to the grand maſter, to the knights in general, and to the citizens and inhabitants of Rhodes. This letter of defiance was drawn up pretty near in theſe terms.

"THE continual robberies with which you infeſt "our faithful ſubjects, and the inſult you offer to our "Imperial majeſty, oblige us to require you to deliver "up to us immediately the iſland and fortreſs of "Rhodes. If you do it readily, we ſwear, by the "God who made heaven and earth, by the ſix and "twenty thouſand prophets, and the four muſaphi that "fell from heaven, and by our great prophet Mahomet, that you ſhall have free liberty to go out of the "iſland, and the inhabitants to ſtay there, without "the leaſt injury being done to you: but if you do "not ſubmit immediately to our orders, you ſhall be "all cut to pieces with our terrible ſword, and the "towers, baſtions and walls of Rhodes ſhall be laid "level with the graſs that grows at the foot of all thoſe "fortifications."

THIS letter was no great ſurpriſe to the council; and they reſolved, that if the grand ſeignior ſhould attack the iſland, to anſwer him only with their cannon. But before the enemy appeared, and that they were obliged to enter upon action, the grand maſter ordered them to prepare themſelves for it by faſting and prayer:

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he himſelf firſt ſet them the example of it, and the moments which he could ſpare from the toils of government, he ſpent in devotion before the altar. Fontanus, a contemporary hiſtorian, and eye-witneſs of what paſſed at the ſiege, in the relation which he has left us of it, obſerves, that the knights and citizens of Rhodes had as much confidence in his prayers as in his valour; and it was a common ſaying among them, that under ſo pious a prince, heaven would interpoſe for the preſervation of his dominions.

As the iſle of Rhodes was inhabited by two different nations, each of them had their own metropolitan, both in the nomination of the grand maſter. Leonard Baleſtein then enjoyed that dignity with regard to the Latins, and a caloyer or monk of St. Baſil, called Clement, was archbiſhop of the Greeks. Theſe two prelates lived in a perfect harmony, and made it their whole buſineſs to maintain peace between their dioceſans. The Latin archbiſhop was a very fine ſpeaker: he was one of the moſt eloquent preachers of his age. However, as the Turks always treated their Greek ſubjects more favourably than the Latins, the grand maſter was not without apprehenſions that the Greek inhabitants of the iſles of the order might poſſibly be ſeduced by this diſtinction in their favour, and therefore engaged the two metropolitans in their ſermons to exhort their dioceſans to fight courageouſly againſt the enemies of the faith.

BOTH the prelates acquitted themſelves in this point with zeal, and ſucceeded in it without difficulty. The fidelity of the Rhodians to the order was not to be ſhaken: not only from the inviolable attachment which they diſcovered for the true religion, but likeways becauſe the knights had always governed with great juſtice and moderation; the ſureſt bond in nature between a ſovereign and his ſubjects.

IN the mean time the Turkiſh fleet ſet ſail; thirty gallies advanced before it. The commander, as he paſſed along the coaſts of the iſle of Lango or Coos, landed ſome troops to ravage it; but theſe plunderers were

were ſo vigorouſly charged upon their landing by Prejan de Bidoux, great prior of St. Giles, governor of the iſland, that they were forced to reimbark with ſome loſs. This commander being informed by the priſoners that he took, that thoſe gallies, and the main body of the fleet which followed them, was ſteering directly for Rhodes, ſent, after they were gone by, to ask the grand maſter leave to come to him, and ſerve the order in the ſiege. The grand maſter, who knew his capacity and long experience in war, was equally affected with his zeal and courage. He readily ſent him the orders that he asked; and the brave knight, upon the receipt of them, went on board a brigantine, and in the night time got into the port of Rhodes, without being diſcovered by the Turks that lay off it at ſea. The grand maſter embraced him tenderly, commended him highly, and not to leave his talents, and particularly his vigilance unemployed, he gave him the commiſſion of viſiting the ſeveral poſts of the place, and of commanding at all the batteries jointly with the baliff of Monoſque.

THEY likewiſe brought over at the ſame time from the other iſles of the order, and particularly from Nizzaro, the greateſt part of its inhabitants, a brave ſet of men, uſed to cruize at ſea, and combat againſt the infidels. The grand maſter took this reſolution, becauſe the only thing they had to do in this war was to ſave the capital; and if the order could but maintain its ground there, the other iſlands would be either preſerved, or at leaſt be more eaſily recovered.

WHEN theſe inhabitants were landed, they put them with proviſions into the caſtles of Lindo, Feracle, and the other fortreſſes of the iſland: ſome gallant knights were likeways put into thoſe places to command them: their orders were, that if they ſhould be beſieged, to hold out as long as poſſible, to gain time and put off the ſiege of the capital; and if the infidels did not attack them, to go often out on parties, and try to ſurprize the ſtragglers from the main army.

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THE Turkiſh fleet, after making the coaſt of Lycia, appeared at laſt within ſight of Rhodes, and ſtopp'd in a ſhallow water about eight miles or three leagues from thence: but not finding a good bottom, and the place being likeways at that ſeaſon expoſed to the weſterly winds, Curtogli weighed anchor, ſet ſail, and went to land on the other ſide, in a lee-ſhore, where there was good anchoring, called Parambolin, ſix miles from the city. There afterwards came thither from the ports of Syria, Paleſtine and Egypt, a great number of veſſels and gallies laden with troops and ammunition; ſo that when the Turks had got all their forces together, they computed no leſs than four hundred ſail in their fleet; and the land army conſiſted of a hundred and forty thouſand men, without reckoning ſixty thouſand pioneers, which Solyman had drawn out of the frontiers of Hungary, and the mountains of Servia, Boſnia and Walachia, where moſt of them had been bred to digging under ground and working in mines.

THE grand maſter, upon the enemies approach, quited his palace, and poſted himſelf near the church of St. Marie de la Victoire, to be the more within reach of ſuccouring the poſts that ſhould be attacked. During the firſt thirteen days, the infidels made no motion at all: their gallies, flat-bottomed veſſels and barks were continually tranſporting their troops from the ports of Fiſcho and Macry into the iſle of Rhodes, and they worked at the ſame time in landing the heavy artillery, proviſions and ammunition. When all was landed, they held a council of war about the different operations of the army. Some officers were of opinion, that they ſhould begin with the attacking the caſtle of Lindo, and the other fortreſſes of the iſland, which the knights had built to hinder the making of deſcents; and they repreſented, that the troops which were in thoſe places might ſurprize and interrupt their convoys, and cut thoſe troopers to pieces that might ſtraggle abroad for forage; but Peri or Pyrrhus baſha, the ſon of a renegado Epirot, was againſt this ſentiment, and repreſented, that they ſhould loſe time, which was too pre-

precious to be thrown away, in reducing theſe little places; that they ought to advance directly to the capital, the taking of which would make all thoſe caſtles fall of courſe; and with regard to the parties which might diſturb their convoys and foragers, they might eaſily ſecure themſelves from any apprehenſions of that nature, by ſending ſuch ſtrong eſcorts that the Chriſtians durſt not attack them.

THE general declared himſelf for this latter opinion: Rhodes was inveſted; they began to open the trenches out of the reach of cannon ſhot, and when they were nearer the town, the infidels raiſed a battery, which was immediately diſmounted by the artillery of the place. Nothing could appear in the plain, but it was immediately battered, and felt the fury of the cannon; and the knights making frequent ſallies, killed a great number of the Turks, cleared the trenches, and filled up their firſt works. The Turks began them again, and raiſed new batteries; but notwithſtanding their being covered with ſheds, gabions and ſhoulder works, nevertheleſs the knights, with their continual fire, ruined all their works, and deſtroyed ſuch as managed the artillery of the infidels. The ſword made a great havock of what the cannon had ſpared: there was every day ſome ſkirmiſh or other, and no ſallies were made, but all the Turks in the trenches were cut to pieces.

THE Turkiſh ſoldiers, who were uſed to make prognoſticks from the firſt ſkirmiſhes, preſaged no good to themſelves with regard to the ſucceſs of the ſiege: the janizaries, and even their very officers, found the valour of the knights ſo much ſuperior to the great character that had been given them of it, that they complained of being led to the ſlaughter. Beſides, thro' the grand maſter's wiſe precaution, the iſland was a kind of deſert, no inhabitants, no proviſions nor forage; neither could the ſoldiers ſtraggle abroad in queſt of any, but they were preſently ſnapped up by parties that ſallied out of the caſtles of the iſland; and theſe parties, that were always lying in one ambuſcade or other,

other, killed all that fell into their hands, without giving quarter. A war ſo toilſome and bloody, the extraordinary fortifications of Rhodes, the continual fire of the artillery, the frequent ſallies, the ſcarcity of proviſions, which they were forced to be very careful of, becauſe they could get none but from beyond ſea, the little, or rather no hopes of booty, and yet leſs of recompence, in the abſence of their ſovereign, their ſmall confidence in a young general that had been brought up in the pleaſures of the ſeraglio; all this contributed to the diſtaſte, and even the murmurings of the officer as well as the ſoldier. A ſpirit of mutiny, under a general that had not credit enough with them, ſoon ſucceeded to theſe murmurs; and if an attack was to be made, or a ſally to be repulſed, the troops could not be brought to advance but with reluctance, and like men that did not believe they could vanquiſh or help being vanquiſhed. In fine, the fear of danger made obedience languiſh, and all reſpect for command was loſt.

Peri baſha, to whom Solyman had given particular orders to ſend him an exact account of every thing that paſſed at the ſiege, thought himſelf obliged to let him know the diſcouragement and deſpondency of his army: and he obſerved in his letter, that nothing but his preſence could root out the ſeeds of rebellion, and reanimate the courage of his ſoldiers. The baſhas that were left about the ſultan, and compoſed his council, were againſt his committing himſelf to the hazards of the ſea; but the prince, jealous of his glory, and having the example of his father Selim, and the ſultans his anceſtors before his eyes; and being likeways perſuaded, that the ſingle preſence of a ſovereign ſurmounts the greateſt difficulties, reſolved to put himſelf at the head of his army, and accordingly ſet out for Lycia with a body of 15000 men.

WHILST this prince was on his march, a Turkiſh woman, who was ſlave to a townſman of Rhodes, either from a zeal for her falſe religion, or in hopes of recovering her liberty, formed alone an enterpriſe that

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an hundred thouſand Turks could not bring about. As the knights and the infidels were fighting together every day, ſhe, in order to make a diverſion that might facilitate the attacks of the Turks, reſolved to ſet fire to the principal places of the city; but as it was impoſſible for her to execute this project alone, ſhe communicated it to ſome other ſlaves of her own country and religion. Theſe ſlaves, influenced by the ſame motives, and by her perſuaſion, entered into the plot. The woman found a way to give the Turkiſh generals notice of her deſign; and, in concert with them, ſhe fixed the conſpirators a day for this conflagration, and the quarter wherein they were to light it. Theſe meaſures were ſo well taken, that Rhodes muſt have fallen by the enterpriſe of this woman, had not one of the ſlaves accidentally dropped a word that diſcovered the ſecret of the conſpiracy. They were immediately ſeized, and all of them, when put to the rack, owned their plot: the woman was the only perſon that did not ſubmit to the force of pain, but endured the moſt violent tortures, without making the leaſt confeſſion. But her accomplices being confronted with her, and maintaining that ſhe was the only perſon that engaged them in this conſpiracy, the judges ordered her to be hanged. They quartered all the other conſpirators, and their limbs were fixed up in ſeveral places of the city, in order to intimidate the reſt of the ſlaves, and all that might afterwards be tempted to form a like enterpriſe.

THE ſultan in the mean time paſſing through Caria and Lycia arrived at Portoficho. His veſſels came thither to take him on board with the troops that ſerved for his eſcorte; and he came into the iſle of Rhodes to his camp, where he was received with the ſalvo's of artillery, and the ſound of drums, trumpets and other warlike inſtruments. His preſence put a ſtop to the murmurs of the ſoldiery, and made them dread a chaſtiſement. He declared that the only deſign of his coming was to puniſh a rebellious army, and decimate or put to death every tenth ſoldier, calling them cowards at the ſame time: but Peri baſha, who had a

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great influence over him, repreſented to him that the janizaries, and even the braveſt of that body of troops, were the very men that had appeared moſt mutinous; that he could not puniſh them without diſcouraging the reſt, and that therefore, in a ſiege of ſuch difficulty and importance, it were better to overlook their fault, elſe make them ſenſible of it by ſuch reproaches as ſhould reinſpire them with their wonted bravery.

THIS prince, after having concerted with his miniſter what behaviour he ſhould put on with regard to his troops, ordered them to appear before him without their arms, and cauſed them to be ſurrounded by the 15000 men that he had brought with him to the ſiege. They had erected an high and magnificent throne for him. The prince, armed with majeſty, aſcended it with a fierce and ſtately air, and ſat there for ſome time without once opening his lips, caſting dreadful looks on every ſide, which the trembling ſoldier conſidered as the forerunners of death. At laſt, breaking this diſmal ſilence, "Was I, ſays he, to have addreſſed myſelf to ſoldiers, I would have allowed you to "appear before me with your arms; but ſince I am "forced to direct my diſcourſe to wretched ſlaves, "weaker and more faint-hearted than women, and "who cannot ſtand the bare ſhout of their enemies, "it is not fitting that ſuch cowards ſhould diſhonour "our arms, and the characteriſticks of valour. I "would gladly know, if, whether upon landing in "this iſland, you flattered yourſelves that the knights "would prove greater cowards than yourſelves, and in "a dread of your arms ſhould bring you their own, "and come in a ſervile manner to offer their hands "and feet to the irons with which you ſhould be pleaſed to load them. In order to undeceive and cure "you of ſuch a ridiculous miſtake, know, that in the "perſon of theſe knights, we are to fight with the "flower of the Chriſtian world, with brave men, trained up from their infancy in the profeſſion of arms; "we are to fight with cruel and fierce lions, greedy of "the blood of Muſulmen, and who will not quit their

" haunt but to a ſuperior force. 'Tis their courage " which has excited our own. I imagined that in at- " tacking them I ſhould meet with an enterprize and " dangers that were worthy of my valour. And is it " from you, baſe and effeminate ſoldiers, that I am to " expect a conqueſt; you that are flying from the e- " nemy before you have looked him in the face, and " would have deſerted, had you not been prevented " by the ſea that encompaſſes you? but before ſuch a " diſgrace ſhall happen to me, I am reſolved to exer- " ciſe ſuch exemplary juſtice on the cowards, that the " ſeverity of their puniſhment ſhall keep ſuch in their " duty as might be tempted to imitate them.

SCARCE had the ſultan ended theſe words, when, upon a ſignal given to the armed ſoldiers that ſurrounded the others, they drew their ſwords as if they were going to maſſacre their comrades. Thoſe wretches, at the ſight of the drawn ſwords, whoſe points were turned againſt them, fell upon their knees, and cried aloud to the ſultan for mercy. Then Peri, and the other generals, in concert with the prince, drew near his throne with the moſt profound reverence, and beſought him, in the moſt ſubmiſſive expreſſions, to pardon thoſe ſoldiers, who, as Peri ſaid, had behaved manfully on other occaſions, but who in this had been unhappily miſled by an evil genius and a panick terror. The baſha added, that they were ready to waſh out their faults with their blood, and his head ſhould anſwer to his highneſs for their hearty ſorrow and repentance. Though Solyman's deſign was only to reclaim his troops, and bring them back to their duty, yet in order to keep up before them to the character of an incenſed prince, and engage the ſoldiers to blot out the remembrance of their cowardice by ſome daring action of extraordinary valour, " I ſuſpend, ſays he to " Peri, at your requeſt, the puniſhment of the guilty: " but let them go ſeek their pardon in the baſtions and " upon the bulwarks of our enemies." With theſe words he diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

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THIS prince's diſcourſe, ſo ſeaſonably mixed with ſeverity and clemency, inſpired the troops with their wonted boldneſs and antient valour. The officers eſpecially, to wipe off the ill opinion the ſultan had entertained of their courage, demanded eagerly to be placed in the moſt dangerous poſts. Thoſe very perſons, who, before Solyman's arrival, had blamed this enterprize, found it then eaſy and glorious; one would not have taken them for the ſame men: they were all on fire to ſignalize their courage, and, to ſpeak properly, it is only from this day that we are to date the commencement of the ſiege.

THE ſoldiers and pioneers carried on the trenches without intermiſſion. They worked at them in the day time as well as in the night, and they were relieved in their turns by various detachments of troops that ſucceeded one another. The grand maſter ſeeing them ſuſtained by ſtrong brigades, did not think fit to continue his ſallies, in which the loſs of one ſingle knight was of greater conſequence to him than fifty ſoldiers to Solyman; ſo that the infidels having nothing to fear but the fire of the place, laboured with ſo much vigour, that they carried on their works as far as the counterſcarp: and in order to make their lines the ſtronger, they faced them on the outſide with beams of timber and planks tied together. They next augmented their batteries; from which they, for ſeveral days together, fired continually upon the city. The Turks flattered themſelves that they ſhould ruin the fortifications in a little time, but had notice ſent them by the Jew who ſerved them as a ſpy in Rhodes, that their cannon had ſcarce ſo much as graſed upon the battlements of the wall, whether their batteries were ill placed or the cannon was not well pointed. He added, that the knights, from the top of St. John's ſteeple, ſaw every thing that paſſed in their camp, and the parts adjacent; and that if the Chriſtians ſhould happen to plant ſome piece of artillery on the top of that ſteeple, they might either kill the ſultan as he was viſiting

ſiting the works, or ſuch as carried his orders. Theſe advices determined the beſiegers to change the ſituation of their batteries: they pointed one among the reſt againſt St. John's ſteeple, which was demoliſhed by the firſt cannon-ſhot that they fired.

THESE barbarians finding Rhodes covered and buried, as it were, under its fortifications, reſolved to raiſe two cavaliers that ſhould be higher than thoſe works, and command the city and bulwarks. The ſoldiers and pioneers, by the general's orders, fetched earth and ſtones for ſeveral days together, which they placed between the poſts of Spain and Auvergne, over againſt the baſtion of Italy. As theſe two places lay open and expoſed to the cannon of the place, it would be impoſſible to expreſs what a prodigious number of Turkiſh ſoldiers and pioneers periſhed in this work; but Muſtapha, in order to advance it, made no ſcruple of throwing away the lives of thoſe poor wretches: the work at laſt appeared like two little hills, which were ten or twelve foot higher than the wall, and commanded it abſolutely.

THE general, and the other baſhas then made a diſtribution of the ſeveral attacks. Muſtapha took upon himſelf that of the bulwark of England; Peri that of the poſt of Italy; Achmet baſha, a great engineer, undertook the attack of the baſtions of Spain and Auvergne; but as they ſeemed to be defended by a numerous artillery, and a great number of knights, the ſultan would have this laſt baſha ſuſtained by the Aga of the janizaries. The begler-bei of Anatolia commanded in the trenches oppoſite to the poſt of Provence, and the begler-bei of Romania was to attack the tower of St. Nicholas; all theſe generals cauſed a continual fire to be made.

THE poſt of Germany was the firſt attacked: the Turks planted ſeveral batteries againſt the wall: they did not think it could long reſiſt the violence of the cannon, becauſe it had no platform of earth: but the grand maſter repaired thither immediately himſelf, and cauſed it to be ſupported on the inſide by earth, beams

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of timber, and faſcines: and as the artillery, which was placed on the gate of his palace in a place of great height, looked over and commanded the batteries of the infidels, the Chriſtian cannoneers demoliſhed them, and broke to pieces their gabions, ſheds and parapets. The only remedy was to make new ones, which, however, did not laſt longer than the firſt; the cannon of the town did ſure execution, and beat down all it was levelled at, whereas that of the infidels, on the contrary, being ill managed, and pointed againſt a place of ſuch height, and always keeping the ſame line and point of elevation, paſſed above the wall and ſhot at random: we may ſuppoſe that their gunners were as yet wholly ignorant of the method of lowering their cannon, and making it bear downwards, and againſt the foot of the wall.

THE baſha, diſcouraged at the little ſervice his batteries had performed, removed, and planted them againſt the tower of St. Nicholas. We have obſerved in the former book, and during the maſterſhip of the grand maſter d'Aubuſſon, the ill ſucceſs of the attacks of the baſha Paleologus; nor was that of the begler-bei of Romania more ſucceſsful. The baſha battered the tower with twelve great braſs guns, but had the mortification to ſee his cannon diſmounted, and his batteries ruined by thoſe of the tower. To prevent this effect, that was owing to the skill of the Chriſtian gunners, he reſolved to fire only by night, and buried his cannon and gabions in the ſand all the day-time: as ſoon as night came, they planted them again on the platform; and above five hundred cannon-ſhot ſtriking on the part of the wall that looked towards the weſt, it was ſhaken down into the ditch.

THE baſha was in high delight at the effect of his nightly battery, and fed himſelf with vain hopes of carrying that work at the firſt aſſault: but he was ſtrangely ſurpriſed to ſee a new wall appear behind the ruins of the firſt, ſtrengthened with a rampart and parapet, and lined with artillery to keep off all approaches

proaches to it. He was now forced to take a reſolution of beginning anew to batter this ſecond wall.

SOLYMAN being advertiſed of it, ſent to reconnoitre it: they gave him an account, that this tower was the ſtrongeſt part of the place, not only by its ſituation on a rock, which was proof againſt the ſap, and could have no mine cut in it, but likeways by the different works added to it ſince the laſt ſiege; and that under the reign of Mahomet II. his grandfather, the baſha Paleologus had been obliged to give over this attack. Theſe conſiderations determined the ſultan to remove his batteries to another place. Muſtapha, by his orders, directed his attack againſt the principal baſtions of the place; a prodigious train of artillery battered them night and day for a month together. The chevalier de Barbaran, who commanded at that of Spain, was killed by a cannon ball. He was ſucceeded in his command by the chevalier John d'Omedes, afterwards grand maſter, of the language of Arragon, who, in defending that poſt, loſt an eye a few days after by a muſket ball. The Turks battered all theſe baſtions at the ſame time; that of England was greatly damaged. A new wall, which they had made there, was entirely ruined by the cannon of the infidels, but the old one ſtood firm againſt all the fury of the artillery: the grand maſter ran thither; and finding the Turks obſtinately bent upon that attack, he lodged himſelf at the foot of the wall, and for fear of an aſſault, cauſed a reinforcement of fifty knights to enter into the baſtion.

THAT of Italy was in a ſtill worſe condition: ſeventeen pieces of cannon firing on it day and night, had almoſt demoliſhed the whole wall. The grand maſter, by Martinengo's advice, in order to get time to make cuts and intrenchments behind the breach, before the infidels could mount to the aſſault, ordered two hundred men to ſally out under the command of a ſerving brother, called Bartholomew, and Benedict Scaramoſe, an engineer who had been brought up under Martinengo: they threw themſelves into the trenches ſword

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in hand, ſurpriſed the Turks, killed or put to flight all that they met, and before they made their retreat, filled up a great many yards of the trenches. The Turks did not fail, as that expert engineer had foreſeen, to haſten to drive them back: but as they were forced to paſs by a place that lay open and expoſed, the artillery of the place, which they had pointed on that ſide, killed a great number of them, and by the help of a continual fire, the Chriſtians who had made the ſally got back into the city without any conſiderable loſs.

WHILST this skirmiſh laſted, part of the knights were buſy in digging ditches and making croſs-cuts and entrenchments to hinder the enemy from making a lodgment upon the breach, whilſt others of them, with musket-ſhot, killed all that durſt advance near it. The cannon of the place played upon, and reached ſuch as were at a greater diſtance, and nothing appeared but was ſtruck down immediately. Moſt of the batteries of the infidels were ruined; their gabions and ſheds were beat to pieces: and their ſhoulder works could not ſave thoſe that were employed about the artillery from being taken off by that of the town.

A RENEGADO, Solyman's general of the ordnance, a man well skilled in his profeſſion, had both his legs carried off by a cannon ſhot, which alſo killed five men with the ſplinters of the planks that it broke to pieces. The Turks, without being diſheartened, repaired their batteries, kept firing continually, and they had ſo great a number of cannon, and ſuch a great quantity of powder, that they often demoliſhed in an hour's time, what the Chriſtians could hardly repair in ſeveral days. The knights began even to want powder already. D'Amaral, one of the commiſſioners appointed before the ſiege to viſit the magazines, had in order to favour the Turks, and diſable the knights from continuing their defence, made a falſe report to the council, and declared that he had found more powder in the place than would ſerve to ſuſtain the ſiege, even though it

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ſhould laſt a whole year. But they were not long before they found to the contrary: the powder they had was diminiſhed ſo conſiderably, that they would ſoon have had none left, had it not been the grand maſter's having made proviſion of ſalt-petre, who ſet all the horſes of his ſtable to work, to beat it ſmall by help of the mills that were in the place: the bailiff de Manoſque and the chevalier Pariſot were appointed to ſuperintend over this affair. However, as they had not ſo much ſalt-petre as they would have occaſion for, the officers of the artillery were obliged to fire leſs frequently, to husband their powder, and reſerve it for the aſſault, which they foreſaw the Turks would make on the place, whenever the breaches ſhould be made larger.

THIS misfortune, owing, as it is pretended, to the treachery of the Portugueſe knight, was attended by another, occaſioned by ſome young knights, whilſt the Turks were giving a falſe alarm to the poſt of Auvergne. The Guards were bringing from work a company of ſlaves, about a hundred and twenty in number, who were ordinarily employed in digging the ground, or in drawing ſtones and beams to make intrenchments. Theſe young knights meeting them ſtruck ſome of them for diverſion's ſake, juſt as a body of old knights were paſſing by, and who were marching in haſte to the poſt of Auvergne upon the ſignals made on occaſion of the falſe alarm that was given by the Turks. They ſeeing it, immediately imagined that thoſe ſlaves, from an impatient deſire of liberty, were riſen, and that the young knights attacked them in earneſt. Poſſeſſed with this notion, they fell upon thoſe poor wretches, ſword in hand, and cut them to pieces: by this unhappy miſtake killing a company of innocent men, and depriving themſelves of the aſſiſtance they received from theſe ſlaves, who would have ſerved to ſupply the places of the Chriſtian pioneers, who fell daily in great numbers, either by the enemies cannon, or by muſket ſhot fired out of fuſees of a large bore, that carried as far as the breaches, and into the very city.

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THE Turkiſh general diſcovering that theſe peaſants, without minding how they expoſed their lives, were by Martinengo's directions making barricadoes, cuts and intrenchments along the breaches, had choſen out of his army a good number of fowlers that were excellent markſmen. He had placed them upon eminences that were neareſt the place, and upon cavaliers that commanded it, from whence they fetched down with their harquebuſſes all that appeared upon the ramparts. Martinengo ſeeing his workmen killed without his being able to ſecure them from the enemies fire, made them, by way of a counter-battery, plant ſome ſmall field-pieces on the roofs of the higheſt houſes. Theſe on their ſide killed abundance of the fowlers, but the killing or diſabling ten of thoſe workmen did not make the order amends for the death of one Chriſtian ſoldier or pioneer: the town being reduced to a ſmall number of defendants, could not loſe one of them without drawing nearer its ruin: and the grand maſter, in order to protract it, had no reſource, but either in a ſpeedy ſuccour, or by prolonging the ſiege, and holding out till the coming of winter and bad weather, when he imagined the Turkiſh fleet would not be able to keep the ſea.

THE war had hitherto been carried on between the beſiegers and the beſieged, by firing at one another: and though that of the Turks, by reaſon of the multitude of their cannon, and the great quantity of their powder, was vaſtly ſuperior, yet they were not maſters of one inch of ground in the baſtions and advanced works of the place. The barricadoes and intrenchments ſerved inſtead of the walls that were beaten down: there was no carrying theſe new works but by an aſſault; and in order to make it, it was neceſſary to try the deſcent of the ditch, or fill it up. Solyman, who had a prodigious number of pioneers in his army, made various detachments of them, ſome to throw earth and ſtones into the ditch; but the knights by help of their caſemates, carried off by night what they had thrown in by day: other pioneers were employed in digging

mines

mines in five different places, in each of which they were carried on towards the baſtion over againſt it. Some of them were countermined by the vigilance of Martinengo, to whom we are indebted for the invention of diſcovering the place where they were carrying on, by drums and skins hard braced and ſtretched.

THE Turks had worked with ſo much skill, that the ſeveral branches of theſe mines had all a communication with one another; and all of them, in order to do the greater execution, centered at laſt in one place. Martinengo diſcovered one in the middle of the line of Provence, that began at St. John's church. De la Fountaine, an engineer, had it broke open immediately, drove the miners out of it with granadoes, and threw in barrels of powder, which burnt and ſmothered the Turks that were in thoſe ſubterraneous paſſages. But whatever pains he took, he could not prevent the infidels from ſpringing two mines, one after another, under the baſtion of England, the force of which was ſo violent, that they blew up twelve yards of the wall, and the ruins of it filled up the ditch.

THE breach appeared ſo large and ſo eaſy to mount, that ſeveral battalions of the infidels that waited the ſucceſs of the mine, ran immediately to the aſſault with great ſhouts, and ſabre in hand. They got in a moment to the top of the baſtion, and planted ſeven enſigns upon it, and would have made themſelves maſters of it, had they not met a croſs cut or intrenchment behind it that ſtopped them. The knights recovering from the confuſion that the terrible noiſe of the mine had thrown them into, ran to the baſtion and charged the Turks with musket-ſhot, grenadoes and ſtones. The grand maſter was at the very time that the mine ſprung in a church not far off, where he was before the altar imploring from heaven the ſuccour which the princes of the earth refuſed him. He judged by the dreadful craſh he heard, that the noiſe which the mine made would be ſoon followed with an aſſault; he roſe up immediately, and it happened to be at that very inſtant when the prieſts of the church were beginning divine ſervice,

and

and were chanting this preliminary prayer, Deus in adjutorium meum intende, O God, make haſte to deliver me. "I accept the omen, cried the pious grand "maſter," and turning about to ſome old knights that were with him, "Let us go, my brethren, ſays he to "them; to change the ſacrifice of our praiſes into "that of our lives, and die, if it muſt be ſo, for the "defence of our holy law."

HE advances immediately with his half-pike in his hand, mounts upon the baſtion, comes up to the Turks, breaks, overturns and kills all that dares oppoſe him: he pulls down the enemies enſigns, and recovers the baſtion with an irreſiſtible impetuouſity. General Muſtapha, who ſaw from the trenches the conſternation and flight of his ſoldiers, ſallies out of them ſabre in hand, kills the firſt of the fugitives that he meets, and ſhews the reſt, that they would find leſs ſafety near their general, than they would upon the breach. He advances on boldly himſelf; his reproaches, and the ſhame of deſerving them, make the run-a-ways rally about him; the engagment begins afreſh; the diſpute grows bloody; fire and ſword are equally employed on both ſides; they kill one another both at a diſtance and near with musket ſhot and the ſword; they grapple with one another, and the ſtrongeſt or the moſt dextrous diſpatches his enemy with a ſtroke of his poinard. The Turks, lying expoſed to musket-ſhot, ſtones, grenadoes and fire-pots, at length abandon the breach, and turn their backs; in vain does their general ſtrive by threats and promiſes to bring them back to the charge; they all break and take to their heels; but in their flight find a death they were afraid of meeting in the action; and they made ſuch a continual fire of the artillery from different parts of the town, upon the foot of the breach, that they pretend the Turks loſt on this occaſion three thouſand men, and there ſangiacks or governors of places.

THE order loſt by this great advantage the great maſter of the artillery, the chevalier d'Argillemont captain or general of the gallies, the chevalier de Mauſelle,

Mauſelle, who carried the grand maſter's ſtandard, and ſeveral other knights that were killed in fighting valiantly.

SCARCE a day paſſed but was ſignalized by ſome new attack. Every general officer, to pleaſe the grand ſeignior, endeavoured at the expence of the ſoldiers lives, to puſh on the works committed to his care. Peri baſha, an old captain, notwithſtanding his advanced age diſtinguiſh himſelf by continual enterpriſes: he was poſted againſt the baſtion of Italy, and never gave the beſieged a moment's repoſe either day or night. The hopes he had of carrying that work, made him plant a good body of infantry ſo as to be concealed behind a cavalier which they had raiſed on the ditch ſide, and on the thirteenth of September, at day break, when the beſieged, quite ſpent with fatigue and continual watching, were overtaken with ſleep, he ordered his troops to make the aſſault: they firſt diſpatched the centinels, paſſed the breach, and were ready to ſeize the intrenchments; when the Italians, amazed to ſee the enemy ſo near them, ruſhed with fury upon the Infidels, who oppoſed them with as much courage and reſolution.

THE fight was maintained by the valour of both for a long time. The baſha ſtood expoſed by the ditch ſide, from whence he ſent them continually new reinforcements: but whilſt he was exhorting them to merit the recompence which the grand ſeignior promiſed to ſuch as ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves by their bravery, the governor of the iſle of Negrepont, a young lord of ſingular valour, and Solyman's favourite, was killed by his ſide, with a ball ſhot from a musket. Peri, either fearing that the grand ſeignior would impute his favourite's death to him, or elſe deſiring to revenge it, redoubled his efforts. The grand maſter, whoſe valour and love for his order multiplied him, as we may ſay, on this occaſion, ran to the ſuccour with a particular body of knights that adhered to his perſon: "Let us go, ſays he to thoſe about him, and repulſe "the Turks: we ſhould not be afraid of men whom "we daily throw into a panic fear." At the ſame time,

time, he charges the Infidels with his half-pike in his hand. The knights of the language of Italy under his eye, and in imitation of ſo great an example, perform the moſt glorious actions: they all expoſe themſelves to the greateſt dangers. A good number of them were killed on this occaſion; and we muſt do them this juſtice, that next to the grand maſter, the ſaving of Rhodes was that day owing to their courage and intrepidity.

PERI judiciouſly concluding, that it would be in vain for him to perſiſt in an attack which the grand maſter himſelf defended, contented himſelf with keeping on the fight; and drawing his body of foot from behind the cavalier that ſerved to cover them, he put himſelf at their head, and went to attack a new baſtion, built in the grand maſter Caretto's time, imagining it not to be ſo well provided with defendants, and that he ſhould be able to ſurpriſe it. His troops advanced to the aſſault with great reſolution, but were repulſed with equal vigour by the chevalier d'Andelot who commanded at that work. The citizens and inhabitants ran to his ſuccour: the Turks were ſoon overwhelmed with ſhowers of granadoes, ſtones, bitumen and boiling oil; and the artillery, planted upon the flanks of the adjoining baſtions, ſcouring the ditch, made an horrible ſlaughter of them. Peri, after loſing abundance of men in theſe two attacks, was forced againſt his will to ſound a retreat.

THE janizaries, diſheartened at ſo many unſucceſsful attacks, murmured aloud againſt an enterpriſe, wherein one or other of their braveſt comrades daily loſt their lives. The vizier Muſtapha fearing leſt theſe complaints ſhould reach the ears of Soliman, and that that prince, like moſt of his predeceſſors, ſhould make him reſponſible for the ill ſucceſs, reſolved to make a new aſſault on the baſtion of England, and either carry the place, tho' he loſt never ſo many ſoldiers, or die himſelf at the foot of the intrenchments. He communicated his deſign to Achmet baſha, who was encamped, and commanded in the quarter oppoſite to the poſts

of Spain and Auvergne. These two generals agreed, that whilst the vizier attacked the English bastion, Achmet, in order to divide the forces of the besieged, should spring his mines, and mount over the ruins they would make upon the breaches, and make a lodgment there. This enterprise was put in execution on the 17th of September. Mustapha sallied out of the trenches at the head of five battalions: the troops sustained by his presence, climbed up the rubbish and ruins of the wall, mounted boldly to the assault, got upon the breach, and in spite of all the fire of the besieged, made their way as far as the intrenchments, and planted some ensigns upon them. But they did not keep this first advantage long. A swarm of English knights, led on by a commander of that nation, whose name was John Buck, sallied out from behind the intrenchments, and being sustained by Prejan grand prior of St. Giles, and the commander Christopher Valdner of the language of Germany, made so furious a charge, that the Infidels were forced to give back. They retired in good order however, and still fighting. Mustapha, a much braver soldier than an able general, led on himself a re-inforcement to their succour: the engagement begins again with equal fury: the Turkish general throws himself into the midst of the knights, kills some of them with his own hand, and had he been as well followed by his soldiers, Rhodes would have been in great danger. But the artillery of the place, the little pieces especially, that played upon the breach, and a great number of musketeers that galled them from behind the intrenchments, made so terrible a fire, that the Infidels, no longer regarding the menaces of Mustapha, abandoned the breach, and dragged him along with them in their flight. How glorious soever this success might be to the order, nevertheless the knights paid very dear for it; they lost on this occasion the commanders Buck and Valdner, several English and German knights, and the greatest part of their principal officers.

ACHMET

ACHMET baſha was as unfortunate as general Muſtapha in his attack: he ſprung his mines as had been agreed between them; but that which was under the poſt of Auvergne took vent and did no execution. The mine which play'd under the poſt of Spain, threw down about four yards of an advanced work, which ſerved for a ſort of fore-wall. The Turks advanced immediately to ſeize it, but met a body of Spaniſh knights upon the ruins of it, that made head againſt them, and kept them from approaching; they fought for ſome time at a diſtance with muſket-ſhot, but as the Turks advanced in cloſe and good order to break through the beſieged, the chevalier de Meſnil, captain of the bulwark or baſtion of Auvergne, and the chevalier de Grimereaux, made the artillery of their poſts play ſo a-propos and continually upon the thickeſt of the battalions of the janizaries, that thoſe troops, though brave in their perſons, and the very flower of the army, could ſtand the fury of it no longer, but diſperſed of themſelves, and made the beſt of their way to the trenches.

SOLYMAN loſt that day three thouſand men, and the order, beſides the chieftains abovementioned, had likewiſe ſeveral knights killed on theſe two occaſions; and among the reſt Philip de Arcillan, of Spaniſh extraction, whoſe great valour juſtly merited him the honour of having his name recorded. Prejan de Bidoux, grand prior of St. Giles, who made all the poſts that were attacked his own, was ſhot through the neck with a muſket-ball, but was happily cured of his wound.

ABOUT this time they [a] diſcovered the treaſon of the Jewiſh phyſician, who by order of Selim [illegible], had formerly ſettled at Rhodes, where he ſerved as a ſpy to the Turks. They caught him ſhooting an arrow with a letter tied to it into their camp; upon which he was immediately ſeized, and being on ſuch ſtrong preſumptions put to the torture, he owned that he had given the Infidels continual advice of the weak parts of the place, Sept. 20.

[a] Bourbon p. 31.

and of every thing that paſſed in it; and that when he was ſeized, it was the fifth letter that he had conveyed to them in the ſame way. His judges condemned him to be quartered, and it is pretended, that he died a Chriſtian. His confeſſion of Chriſtianity was very much ſuſpected: but if he made it only to ſave his life it ſtood him in no ſtead, for he ſuffered the puniſhment he had ſo juſtly deſerved.

SOLYMAN in the mean time, enraged at the little progreſs of his arms, held a great council of war, to which he ſummoned his principal officers. Various opinions were propoſed in it. Muſtapha, who, before the ſiege, out of pure complaiſance had repreſented the enterpriſe as eaſy, now dreading his paſſion and reſentment, propoſed the giving a general aſſault, and attacking the town in four different places at the ſame time. "One would imagine, ſays he, that we were "making war in concert with our enemies, and that "from a romantick point of generoſity we would not "fight them but upon equal terms. We never attack "but one poſt at a time; and as the knights draw all "their forces thither, we need not think it ſtrange to "find a ſet of brave men, the very flower of Chriſtendom, maintain their ground againſt our ſoldiers. "But if the whole army was to ſurround the place, "and that detachments were to be drawn out to aſſault all the places where there are breaches, and "alſo new ſupplies ſent continually to reinforce thoſe "that ſhould make the attack, the Rhodians would "be obliged to divide their forces, and could never be "able to ſtand before us.

THE grand ſeignior approved of this advice: the general aſſault was fixed for the 24th of September; and Solyman, to inſpire new ardor into his ſoldiers, gave out, that he would give them the plundering of Rhodes, provided they could take it ſword in hand. The Turks, before they gave this aſſault, made a continual fire with their cannon; and in order to enlarge the breaches, battered the baſtions of England and Spain, the poſt of Provence, and the platform of Italy for two

days

days together. The evening before the aſſault, the grand maſter ſuſpected, by the motions he perceived in the enemies camp, that they were going to attack him: He gave out his orders, and the knights following his example redoubled their care; but though they had juſt reaſon to fear, that the enemy would take their advantage of opening to themſelves a paſſage through the ruins of thoſe ſtrong holds that had been battered down in the vaſt circuit of the walls, they yet were forced to regulate their meaſures by the few troops they had left, and to diſtribute the old commanders and principal officers into ſuch poſts as the violence of the attacks, the wideneſs of the breaches, and the defect in the fortifications expoſed to the greateſt dangers.

THE grand maſter taking up his weapons, viſited all the quarters to ſee the diſpoſition of his troops, and exhort them to a noble defence; and addreſſing himſelf to the knights whom he found in their reſpective poſts; "I ſhould offer violence to your courage, ſaid he to "them, ſhould I pretend to invigorate it by an ha-"rangue; and it would be throwing away time, to "tell you, what your valour has ſo often inſpired in-"to you on the like occaſions. Conſider only, my "dear brethren, that we are going to fight for our "order, and for the defence of our religion, and that "a glorious victory muſt be the reward of our valour, "or elſe Rhodes, the ſtrongeſt rampart of Chriſtendom, "muſt ſerve us for a grave." Whenever he met any of the townſmen and inhabitants, "Think, ſa'd he to "them, that beſides the defence of the faith, you "have taken up arms for your country, for your "wives, your maidens, and your children: fight gal-"lantly, my friends, in order to reſcue them from the "infamy that the barbarians threaten them with: "their liberty and your own, your blood, your ho-"nour, and your fortunes are all in your hands, and "depend upon your bravery.

THESE few words, pronounced with an heroick ardor, had ſuch an effect on all, that the townſmen as

well as the knights, and the Greeks no leſs than the Latins, made publick proteſtations, that nothing but death ſhould make them abandon their poſts; and embracing one another in a moſt tender and affectionate manner, their eyes ſtreaming with tears, they bid as it were a laſt adieu to each other, reſolutely bent either to conquer or die.

THE Turks at day break made a furious fire from all their batteries, eſpecially againſt the poſts which they deſigned to attack, not only in order to widen the breaches, but alſo to be leſs expoſed to view, as they marched through the ſmoke of the artillery. They mounted boldly to the aſſault in four different places: they had never diſcovered ſo much reſolution ever ſince the beginning of the ſiege, eſpecially the janizaries, who fought under the young ſultan's eye.

THAT prince, in order to animate them by his preſence, had placed himſelf on a riſing ground near adjoining, where a ſcaffold was erected for him, whence he, as from an amphitheatre, was able to diſtinguiſh and judge of the valour of thoſe brave fellows, without any danger to himſelf. The cannon of the place begins to play: this is ſucceeded by ſhowers of arrows and musket-ſhot. The knights in all quarters ſhew their intrepidity, and the ſoldiers their obedience and courage; ſome of them burn the aſſailants with boiling oil and fire-works, whilſt others roll ſtones of a vaſt ſize upon them, or pierce them through with their pikes. The Engliſh baſtion was the place where there was the greateſt bloodſhed: it was the weakeſt part of the place, the warmeſt attacked, and withal the beſt defended. The grand maſter runs thither himſelf: his preſence on the one ſide inſpires the knights with freſh ardor; hope of booty on the other encourages the Turkiſh ſoldier. Never did the Infidels diſcover ſo much eagerneſs in battle; they mount upon the ruins of the wall through a ſtorm of bullets, javelins and ſtones: nothing ſtops them, and ſeveral of them leaped like ſo many deſperadoes from the machines which they had brought near the walls upon the ramparts, where they were

ſoon

ſoon cut to pieces. The knights throw the Turks from the top of the breach headlong into the ditch: they overturn the ladders, and the cannon of the place makes ſo terrible a ſlaughter, that the Turks give way, retire back, and are ready to give over the aſſault. But the general's lieutenant, who commanded at that attack, an officer highly reſpected among the ſoldiers for his rare valour, rallies, and leads them on to the attack: he himſelf mounts firſt upon the breach and plants an enſign on it. Happily for the beſieged, a cannon ball, fired from the poſt of Spain, carries him off, and throws him in the ditch. One would have thought, that his death would naturally have cooled the ardor of his ſoldiers: but thirſt of revenge inſpired them that inſtant with a contrary ſentiment, and filled their hearts with a ſort of rage and fury; they ruſh on headlong into danger, pleaſed to die themſelves, provided they could kill a Chriſtian. But all their impetuoſity could not make the knights retire one ſingle ſtep. The prieſts, the religious, the old men, and the very children reſolve to have their ſhare of the danger, and repulſe the enemy with ſtones, boiling oil, and combuſtible matter.

NEITHER did the women yield in aſſiduity to the pioneers, nor was their bravery inferior to that of the ſoldiers: ſeveral loſt their lives in defending their huſbands and children. Hiſtorians make mention of a Greek [a] woman of exquiſite beauty, that was miſtreſs to an officer who had a command in that baſtion, and had been juſt killed. Upon which, diſtracted at the death

[a] Mulier una græcanici ſanguinis, quæ cum arcis præfecto conſuetudinem habebat, ut eum agnovit fortiter dimicando occiſum, amplexa duos venuſto corpore & amabili indole pueros quos defuncto genuerat, poſtquam materno pietatis oſcula extremo libaſſet, & notam crucis Chriſti lacrymantium, petiturorumque frontibus impreſſiſſet ferro atrox fœmina jugulavit, & tremantes adhuc exeunte ſimul ſanguine & ſpiritu artus cum cæteris quæ cara habebat, in ardentiſſimum rogum conjecit, ne hoſtis (dicebat) vitalibus vivis aut mortuis genuina nobilitate corporibus potiretur.

Et

death of her lover, and reſolving not to ſurvive him, after kiſſing the two children ſhe had by him, and making the ſign of the croſs on their foreheads, "'Tis "better for you, my dear children, ſays ſhe to them, "with tears in her eyes, to die by my hands than "by thoſe of our mercileſs enemies, or to be reſerved "for infamous pleaſures, more odious than death it"ſelf." Then, inſpired with fury, ſhe takes up a knife, cuts their throats, throws their bodies into the fire, puts on the officers cloaths that were ſtill dyed with his blood, ſnatches up his ſabre, runs to the breach, kills the firſt Turk ſhe meets, wounds ſeveral others, and dies fighting with a bravery equal to the moſt couragious officer, or the moſt reſolute ſoldier.

THE engagement was carried on with equal fury and obſtinacy at the other attacks. The greateſt danger was at the poſt of Spain. The aga of the janizaries, who commanded on that ſide, led on his ſoldiers to the aſſault: the artillery of the place killed a great number of them before they could get to the foot of the breach. Such of the Turks as are able to croſs the ditch, go to undermine the wall, and are frequently buried under its ruins, whilſt others of them make uſe of ladders to mount up: ſome of them heap the dead bodies of their comrades on one another, get to the top of the wall in ſpite of all the oppoſition of the beſieged, and penetrate as far as the intrenchments, on which, it is ſaid, they planted no leſs than thirty enſigns. Unhappily for the knights, ſuch of them as had the guard of the baſtion of Spain had like to have been ſurpriſed by not ſtanding on their guard. The Turks having ſhewed no ſigns of any deſign to attack them, thoſe knights reproaching themſelves for being idle in their poſt, and ſeeing the baſtion of Italy hard preſſed

Et cum dicto induens cari amatoris paludamentum, madidum multo adhuc ſanguine, accepta framea in hoſtes tendit; ibi egregia bellatrix et omnium ſeculorum memoria d'gniſſima virago, inter confertas hoſtium phalanges, more virorum fortiter bellando occubuit. Jacobi Fontani de bello Rhodio l. 2. t. p. 159. Francofurti ad Mœnum.

preſſed by the Turks, ran to their ſuccour, and left only a few centinels upon the baſtion of Spain. Theſe ſoldiers likeways, contrary to all the rules of war, quitted their poſt to help the gunners in tranſporting ſome pieces of cannon which they had a mind to point againſt the poſt that the aga of the janizaries was attacking. Some Turks that lay concealed behind a heap of ruins, ſeeing the baſtion abandoned, mount without being diſcovered, get to the top of the work, make themſelves maſters of it, cut the gunners to pieces, pull down the enſigns of the order, and plant the [illegible] of Solyman in their ſtead; and proclaiming victory, invite their comrades to join them: upon which the aga ſent immediately a detachment of his janizaries to that place.

THE grand maſter having notice of this ſurpriſe, runs thither in an inſtant, makes them point the artillery of the baſtion of Auvergne againſt a breach which the enemies cannon had made in that of Spain, keeps the Turks from approaching it; and from another battery which faced the baſtion, he makes them fire upon thoſe that were in poſſeſſion of it, and who were endeavouring to make a lodgment there. On another ſide, the commander of Bourbon, by his orders, at the head of a troop of brave ſoldiers, enters by the caſement into the baſtion, mounts up to the top upon the platform ſword in hand, in order to drive out the infidels; where he finds part of them killed by the cannon: he cuts the reſt in pieces, again ſets up the enſigns of the order, pulls down thoſe of the Turks, and turns the artillery of the baſtion upon ſuch as were mounting up a breach that had been made in that part of the wall which was called the poſt of Spain. The aga maintained his ground in that place in ſpite of the gallant reſiſtance of the knights. The grand maſter comes back thither at the head of his guards, and throws himſelf into the midſt of the infidels, with an ardour which made his knights tremble as much as his enemies, but from a different motive. The engagement begins again with freſh fury, the ſoldiers, as yet

unhurt,

unhurt, the wounded and the dying all blended together, after a combat of six hours, want rather ſtrength than courage to continue it. The grand maſter, fearing that his men, who were quite ſpent with ſuch a long reſiſtance, ſhould at laſt be bore down by the multitude of their enemies, drew a re-inforcement of two hundred men, with ſome knights at their head, out of the tower of St. Nicholas. Theſe troops, who were freſh, and had ſuffered no fatigue, ſoon changed the face of the engagement: the janizaries began to give back; and finding themſelves preſſed by theſe brave ſoldiers, abandon the breach and fly to recover their trenches. Solyman, to cover the ſhame of their flight, and ſave the honour of his troops, ordered a retreat to be ſounded, after having left upon the breach, and at the foot of the wall, upwards of fifteen thouſand men, and ſeveral captains of great reputation, that loſt their lives in theſe different attacks.

THE Rhodians ſuſtained as conſiderable a loſs as they did in proportion: and beſides the ſoldiers and inhabitants, they had a great number of knights killed in theſe aſſaults, among which were the chevalier du Freſnoi, commander of Romagna, the commander of St. Camelle of the language of Provence, Olivier de Treſſac of the language of Auvergne, and brother Peter Philips the grand maſter's receiver. The chevalier John le Roux, ſirnamed Parnides, had his hand, with which he had ſlain ſeven Turks, carried off that day by a cannon ball; there were few knights but what were wounded, and there ſcarce remained ſufficient enough unhurt to continue the ſervice.

THE ſultan, furious at the ill ſucceſs of this enterpriſe, fell upon his general Muſtapha[a] who out of complaiſance had adviſed him to it, and gave orders for his being ſhot to death with arrows; a ſad recompence for all his ſervices, but ſuch an one as ſlaves and ſervile courtiers are frequently expoſed to under the government of the infidels. The army was drawn up in battle array in order to be ſpectators of the death of their

[a] Bruiten, p. 35.

their general, and the unhappy man was already tied to the fatal ſtake, when Peri baſha, provoked at the puniſhment they were going to inflict on his friend, made them defer the execution, as he was perſuaded that Solyman, when the heat of his paſſion was over, would not be concerned that they had prevented ſuch a ſtain to his glory. As he had educated that young prince from his infancy, and had ſtill a great aſcendant over him, he went and threw himſelf at his feet, and begged him to pardon Muſtapha. But he found by his own experience that lions are not to be tamed: Solyman, ſtill in the firſt tranſports of his wrath, jealous of his authority, and enraged to ſee there was a man in his empire daring enough to ſuſpend the execution of his orders, condemned him at the ſame time to undergo the ſame puniſhment. The other baſhas were in a terrible conſternation, and threw themſelves all at his feet in order to mollify him; when the ſultan coming to himſelf, was moved at their tears: he pardoned Muſtapha and Peri, but would never ſee Muſtapha more, and ſent him afterwards at a diſtance from court under pretence of another employment.

THIS prince, deſpairing to carry the place, ſeemed reſolved to raiſe the ſiege; and it is ſaid, that whole companies and the heavy baggage began to file off towards the ſea in order to re-imbark; when an Albanian ſoldier, getting out of the town, came into the Turkiſh camp, and aſſured them that moſt of the knights were either killed or wounded at the aſſault, and that thoſe who were left were not able to ſuſtain another. They pretend, that this deſerter's report was confirmed by a letter from d'Amaral, who told the grand ſeignior that the beſieged were reduced to the laſt extremity.

THESE ſeveral advices determined him to continue the ſiege; and in order to ſhew his troops and the beſieged that he was reſolved to paſs the winter before the place, he ordered an houſe to be built on mont Philerme for himſelf, to lodge in; giving, at the ſame time, the command of the army to Achmet baſha, an-

able

able engineer, who changed the method of carrying on the ſiege. He reſolved to be as ſparing as poſſible of his ſoldiers blood; and before he led them to an aſſault, to prepare for it by new cannonadings, and particularly by ſapping and mining, and other ſubterraneous works; in which he was particularly skilled.

THIS new general made his firſt efforts againſt the baſtion of Spain, the ditch whereof was narrower, and not ſo deep as in other places: and in order to facilitate the deſcent of it, his artillery played for ſeveral days together ſo furiouſly upon that work, that he ruined all the defences of it; there was nothing left but the barbacane or fauſſe-braye, which lay ſo low, that the cannon could not hurt it. The Turkiſh general, reſolved to run his trenches as far as this work, which covered the foot of the wall; but theſe trenches being ſeen from the baſtion of Auvergne, the cannon of the knights played upon them. The Turks, in order to ſhelter themſelves from it, raiſed a thick wall before the trenches; but they could not bring theſe ſeveral works to perfection without the loſs of an infinite number of ſoldiers and pioneers: no one could ſhew himſelf but he was immediately expoſed to the fire of the artillery, and a ſhower of musket ſhot; and the knights at the ſame time were continually throwing granades and fire-pots into their works. The Turkiſh general, to guard againſt them, raiſed along the curtain a gallery with planks, which he covered with raw hides, which the fire would not take hold of. Under ſhelter of this new work he undermined the wall, whilſt other companies of pioneers and miners were continually at work to penetrate under the baſtions of the place, and run mines through that place.

THES mines having thrown down a great many yards of the wall of the poſt of Spain, the barbarians advanced to the aſſault; but coming up to the breach, they found themſelves ſtopped by new intrenchments, lined with artillery, the continual fire whereof, after killing a great many of their braveſt officers, and a prodigious

digious number of ſoldiers, forced the reſt to run back to their trenches for ſhelter.

THE bailiff Martinengo, who was always in action, had, in order to hinder the infidels from coming to reconnoitre the works he was making within the place, made them cut loop-holes for the cannon in the wall of the counterſcarp on the ſide of the town, from whence the knights killed with musket ball all that durſt advance near it. The Turks, after his example, did the like on their ſide, and a continual fire was kept on both ſides. Unhappily a random ſhot from the trenches ſtruck Martinengo in the eye, juſt as he was looking through one of thoſe loop-holes to examine the enemies works; he fell upon receiving the ſhot, and they thought him mortally wounded. The order could not have had a greater loſs at ſuch a juncture; for he was in a manner the only perſon that directed all operations, and determined the time and places where the knights ſhould exert their valour.

THE grand maſter, upon the news of his wound, ran immediately to the place, and cauſed him to be carried into his own palace: by his care he was afterwards cured of his wound, the knights and all the people offering up their prayers for his recovery. The grand maſter filled up his poſt in his abſence, and undertook himſelf to defend the baſtion of Spain. The chevalier de Cluys grand prior of France, the commander of St. Jaille bailiff of Manoſque, the bailiff of the Morea, and the oldeſt knights of the order ſtaid about the grand maſter's perſon, in order to ſhare with him in the perils and glory of this defence. Actions of extraordinary valour were performed on both ſides; there were new engagements every day. It would appear very ſurpriſing that ſo ſmall a number of Chriſtians, who had nothing to cover them but ſome barricadoes and weak intrenchments, ſhould be able to hold out ſo long againſt ſuch a prodigious number of aſſailants, if this handful of men had not been compoſed of old knights, whoſe valour had been experienced on a thouſand other occaſions, and who on this were unanimouſly

nimously reſolved to ſacrifice their lives for the defence of their religion. Men are very ſtrong and very formidable when they are not afraid of death.

HISTORIANS, ſpeaking of their zeal and courage, uſe but one ſort of elogium for all theſe noble ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt. Not but there were among theſe warriors different talents, and more or leſs capacity in the arts of war; and we ſhould juſtly deſerve to be cenſured, if we did not do juſtice to the memory of the grand maſter, who, for four and thirty days that the baliff de Martinengo's wound and illneſs laſted, never ſtirred from the intrenchment made on the Spaniſh baſtion, nor ever took any reſt either day or night excepting only for ſome moments on a mattreſs, which they laid for him at the foot of the intrenchment; officiating ſometimes in the quality of a ſoldier, and ſometimes in that of pioneer, but always in that of general, if we except that ardor which made him fight like a young knight, and ruſh into perils with leſs precaution than became a ſovereign.

THE example of the grand maſter, who was ſo very careleſs of his own life, made the knights, left in the principal poſts of the place, expoſe daily their own, ſometimes in defending the breaches and intrenchments, and often in engagements under ground, when they were to countermine and meet with the enemies miners; there ſcarce paſſed a day without an engagement in ſome place or other. Beſides the baſtion of Spain, which was almoſt entirely ruined, the Turks directed their principal attacks againſt the poſts of England, Provence and Italy. The prodigious number of troops, of which their army conſiſted, eaſily ſupplied them with men for all theſe attacks: the walls were quite demoliſhed in ſeveral places, and the breaches were ſo large, that the Turks could mount in formed battalions to the aſſault of the baſtion of England. The knights that had undertaken the defence of it, lined the ramparts ſword in hand, and with their bodies made a new parapet for its defence. They were ſeconded by the artillery of the city, which played from ſeveral places upon

upon the foot of the breach. The Turks, without being daunted at the number of their ſlain, ruſh on with fury to attack the knights, come up with them, grapple with them, and by their multitudes as much as by their courage, force them to give back. Thoſe noble defendants ſaw themſelves on the point of being overwhelmed by the croud of their enemies, when the chevalier de Morgut, grand prior of Navarre, and one of the adjutant captains, as they were then called, ran with his company to their ſuccour, reſtored the battle, forced the infidels in their turn to retire, and with new efforts obliged them at laſt, after the loſs of above ſix hundred men, to ſound a retreat, and give over the attack.

BUT if the order had ſuch brave defendants in the perſon of her knights, ſhe likeways nouriſhed in her boſom, and even among her principal chiefs, a traitor, who omitted nothing to forward the loſs of Rhodes, and the ruin of the whole order. The reader may eaſily perceive that I mean the chancellor d'Amaral. The commander de Bourbon, in his account of the ſiege of Rhodes, relates this tragical event as follows.

D'AMARAL, ſays this author, ever tormented with rage, and without being moved at ſeeing the blood of his brethren ſhed every day, ſtill kept on his criminal intelligence with the Turks. One of his valets de chambre, Blaiſe Diez by name, in whom he entirely confided, uſed to come with a bow in his hand at unſeaſonable hours to the poſt of Auvergne, whence, whenever he fancied himſelf not to be perceived, he ſhot an arrow with a letter fixed to it into the enemies camp. His frequent reſort to the ſame place, eſpecially in a beſieged city, immediately gave ſome ſuſpicion, but as they had not ſeen him ſhoot any of his letters, and beſides that he belonged to a perſon of great authority, ſuch as had obſerved his ſtolen viſits thither durſt not mention it at firſt, for fear of drawing upon themſelves the reſentment of a powerful and revengeful man. There was only one knight, who, ſtifling all conſiderations, and OCT. 30.

ſeeing the ſervant return often to the ſame place, gave private notice thereof to the grand maſter, who immediately gave orders for the ſeizing of this ſervant: he was afterwards examined by the judges of the caſtellany, who not being ſatisfied with his equivocal anſwers to their interrogatories, ordered him to be put to the torture. He owned, upon the very firſt twitches of it, that he had, by his maſter's command, thrown down ſeveral letters into the Turkiſh camp, to point out to them the weakeſt places of the city. He added, that he had likeways acquainted them, that the order had loſt the greateſt part of its knights in the laſt aſſault, and beſides, that the city was in want of wine, powder, ammunition and proviſions; but that though the grand maſter was reduced to extremity, the grand ſeignior ought not yet to flatter himſelf with the thought of being maſter of the place any other way than by force of arms.

THIS depoſition was laid before the council, who gave orders for ſeizing the chancellor, whom they carried to the tower of St. Nicholas. Two commanders, grand croſſes, repaired thither with the magiſtrates of the city to examine and try him: they read to him the depoſition of his ſervant, who was afterwards confronted with him, and maintained to his face, that it was by his orders only that he frequently had gone to the baſtion of Auvergne, and had thrown letters from thence into the camp of the infidels. This depoſition was confirmed by that of a Greek prieſt, chaplain to the order, who declared before the judges, that paſſing one day by the fauſſe-braye of the baſtion of Auvergne, in order to obſerve the enemies works, he found the chancellor in a bye-corner with this very ſervant, who had a croſs bow, with a quarrel or ſquare arrow in his hand, to which he perceived there was a paper tied; that the chancellor, who was then looking through a loop-hole for the cannon, returning back, ſeemed ſurpriſed to ſee him ſo near him, and demanded of him roughly, and in an angry manner, what he wanted; and

that

that finding his preſence in that place was diſagreeable to him, he had made off as faſt as poſſible.

DIEZ agreed to the Greek prieſt's depoſition in all its circumſtances. This ſervant, who might perhaps flatter himſelf with the hopes of eſcaping puniſhment by accuſing his maſter, added farther, that the chancellor was the perſon that had perſuaded the grand ſeignior to invade the iſland, by the advices he ſent him of the condition of the place, and diſpatching the ſlave before mentioned to Conſtantinople, the whole negociation paſſing through his hands. They put the chancellor at the ſame time in mind, that on the day of the grand maſter's election, he could not help ſaying, that he would be the laſt grand maſter of Rhodes. D'Amaral, no ways confuſed, being confronted a ſecond time with his ſervant and the Greek prieſt, affirmed, that Diez was a villain and an impoſtor, whoſe depoſition, he ſaid, was nothing elſe but the effect of the reſentment he had entertained on account of puniſhments that his ill conduct had occaſioned him. He flatly denied all the facts advanced by the Greek prieſt, with an intrepidity that ought only to attend on innocence: they were forced in fine to have recourſe to the rack; but before they put him to it, the judges, who were his brother knights, in order to ſave him from the torture of it, as alſo to get from him an account of his accomplices, conjured him, in the moſt preſſing terms, to encourage them to ſave his life by an ingenuous confeſſion of his faults; but the chancellor rejected their offices with indignation, and demanded of them haughtily, if they thought him baſe enough, after having ſerved the order for above forty years, to diſhonour himſelf at the end of his life by the confeſſion of a crime that he was incapable of committing. He bore the torture with the ſame intrepidity; and owned only, that at the time of the grand maſter's election, at a time when the Turks were threatning Rhodes with a ſiege, having no great opinion, as he ſaid, of the courage and abilities of l'Iſle-Adam, he had dropped a word or two, and ſaid, that he would perhaps be the laſt

grand master of Rhodes; when turning towards his judges, he asked them, if a word, that emulation and a rivalship for the same dignity had extorted from him, deserved to have the great chancellor of the order put into the hands of executioners. But the judges being persuaded of his criminal correspondence with the Turks, were not dazled by his protestations: no body took his recriminations against Diez for proofs of his innocence: the master and servant were both condemned to death. The chancellor was sentenced to be beheaded, and Diez to be hanged; their bodies were afterwards quartered, and exposed to the view of the Turks upon the principal bastions of the place. The valet was executed first: he was born a Jew, but had been converted, and declared at his execution that he died a good Christian. Before d'Amaral was put to death, an assembly was held in the great church of St. John, in which the bailiff de Manosque presided. The criminal was brought thither; they read him his sentence, which ordered him to be degraded, and stripped of the habit of the order; which was done with all the ceremonies prescribed by the statutes. They delivered him over afterwards to the secular arm, who carried him to prison, and the next day he was carried in a chair to the public place where he was to be executed. He looked upon all the preparatives to his execution, and the approaches of death, with a resolution worthy of a better cause; but his refusing in that extremity to recommend himself to the protection of the blessed virgin, whose image the priest that assisted him presented to him, gave them no advantageous opinion of his piety. Fontanus, a contemporary historian, and an eye-witness of what passed, speaking of the very different deaths of two grand crosses, who were appointed in the beginning of the siege, in joint commission with d'Amaral, to visit and take care of the ammunition and provisions, and who were both killed in assaults, adds, with regard to the chancellor whom he speaks of but does not name. "God, says this author, had reserved the last of the three for a shame-

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" ful death, which he richly deſerved." However, the ſervices he had done the order for ſo many years, his intrepidity under the moſt exquiſite torments of the rack, the antient and valuable fidelity of the Portugueſe gentry to their ſovereigns, of which there are ſo many illuſtrious examples in hiſtory, all this might ſerve to balance the depoſition of a ſervant: and perhaps the chancellor would not have been treated ſo very rigorouſly, if, when the public ſafety is at ſtake, bare ſuſpicion were not, as we may ſay, a crime that State-policy ſeldom pardons.

BUT be that as it will: to reſume the relation of this famous ſiege, Solyman, tired out with its continuance, and the little ſucceſs of his miners, ordered Achmet to begin his batteries again, and diſpoſe his ſoldiers for a general aſſault. The eyes of all the univerſe were then fixed upon Rhodes. The Turks flattered themſelves with hopes of carrying it by ſtorm; and the knights, who were reduced to a ſmall number, and were rather hid and buried than fortified in the little ground that was left them, waited with impatience for the ſuccours which the Chriſtian princes had ſo long fed them with the vain hopes of ſending them, in order to raiſe the ſiege. But the emperor Charles V. and Francis I. king of France, were ſo obſtinately animated againſt one another, that they durſt not ſend away their troops or divide them: and the other European princes, moſt of which were engaged on the ſide of one of thoſe two princes, and were afraid leſt their own territories ſhould be invaded, kept their forces about them for fear of a ſurpriſe. The pope himſelf, Adrian VI. by name, a pious and indeed learned pontiff, but of no great capacity, and entirely devoted to the emperor, being preſſed by cardinal Julian de Medicis, an old knight of the order, to ſend his gallies to Rhodes with a body of infantry which then lay about Rome, the new pontiff excuſed himſelf from ſo doing, under pretence, that as he was not skilled in the arts of government, he could not ſend away his troops whilſt all Italy was up in arms; though it is very probable that

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he durſt not diſpoſe of them without the privity and conſent of the emperor his benefactor: and that out of complaiſance to that prince, inſtead of ſending them to Rhodes, he ordered them to march into the Milaneſe and Lombardy, where they were employed againſt the French.

THUS were the grand maſter and his knights, after putting their whole confidence in God, left without any hopes of ſuccour but what they could draw from the order itſelf: they were beſides ſo unfortunate as not to receive a conſiderable convoy which the French knights ſent in two ſhips from the port of Marſeilles. One of theſe ſhips, after a ſtorm of ſeveral days, was caſt away and loſt off Monaco, and the other loſing her maſts in the ſame ſtorm, was ſtranded on the coaſt of Sardinia, and diſabled from putting to ſea. Nor were the Engliſh leſs unfortunate. Sir Thomas de Newport embarking with ſeveral knights of that nation, and a good quantity of proviſions as well as money on board, was catched in the ſame ſtorm, which drove him upon a deſart country where he ſtranded. The chevalier Aulamo of the language of Arragon, and prior of St. Martin, was in hopes of getting into the port of Rhodes. But he was met in the Archipelago by ſome Turkiſh gallies, and after a long engagement got out of their hands with great difficulty. The grand maſter, though abandoned as we may ſay by all human ſuccour, did not yet abandon himſelf or deſpond. This great man diſcovered in ſo ſad an extremity the ſame courage which had carried him ſo often upon the breach, and into the midſt of his enemies. By his orders the knights that reſided in the adjoining iſles that depended on Rhodes, and in the caſtle of St. Peter, quitted them in order to preſerve the capital of the order, and tranſported thither, on board ſome light barks and little brigantines, all the ſoldiers, arms and proviſions they were maſters of. The grand maſter, in the extremity to which he was reduced, took this ſtep, in hopes of one day recovering thoſe iſlands, if he could but maintain his ground in Rhodes. But as they had drawn the like ſuccours from

from theſe ſeveral places before, this laſt, the only hope the knights had left, betrayed their weakneſs more than it augmented their forces. The grand maſter diſpatched at the ſame time the chevalier Farfan of the language of England into Candia, to endeavour to get proviſions from thence; and ſent another knight called des Reaux to Naples, to haſten the ſuccours, which were retarded by the rigour of the ſeaſon; but all his endeavours were fruitleſs; and one would have thought, that the winds and the ſea had conſpired the loſs of the iſle of Rhodes, and of this armament, the laſt ſupply that the beſieged had any hopes of.

THE Turks, to whom ſome deſerters had repreſented theſe ſuccours as much ſtronger and nearer at hand than they were in reality, uſed their endeavours to prevent them. Achmet, who under Solyman's orders had the whole direction of the ſiege, planted a battery of ſeventeen cannon again the baſtion of Italy, and compleated the ruin of all the fortifications. He afterwards ran his trenches to the foot of the wall; and to ſecure his men from being galled by the artillery of the place, he covered theſe new work with thick planks and great beams of timber. His pioneers pierced afterwards through the wall, and ran their mines as far as the intrenchments, and then digging away the earth that ſupported them, they made them ſink, ſo that the knights were forced to retire farther within the town: and the grand maſter, who never ſtirred from the attacks, ſeeing the Infidels maſters of the beſt part of the platform of the baſtion, was forced to demoliſh the church of St. Pantaleon, and the chapel of Notre Dame de la Victoire, to hinder the Turks from making lodgments there, and he employed the materials of thoſe two churches in making new barricadoes and intrenchments to hinder the enemy from penetrating farther into the place.

THE Turkiſh general had the ſame ſucceſs at the baſtion of England. After his artillery had played upon it for ſeveral days, and that he had demoliſhed the walls and ruined the fortifications, ſeveral knights propoſed

poſed to abandon it, but that they ſhould firſt fill the mines that were under it with powder, in order to blow up the Infidels that ſhould throw themſelves into it. But it was remonſtrated in the council of war, held on this ſubject, that in the extremity to which they were reduced, the ſaving of the place depended entirely on prolonging the ſiege, ſo as to allow time for the ſuccours they expected to arrive; and that therefore there was not a foot of ground, but what was to be diſputed with the enemy as long as poſſible. This laſt opinion prevailed; and though the baſtion was entirely ruined by mines and the fire of the artillery, nevertheleſs the chevalier Bin de Malicome, offered himſelf generouſly to defend it; and in ſpite of the continual attacks of the Turks, he maintained it with great glory to the very end of the ſiege.

THE Turks did not allow any more reſt to the knights that defended the poſts of Italy and Spain. They attacked the firſt on the 22d of November. They, as has been already obſerved, had ſeized on the beſt part of the platform of Italy; the knights had ſcarce a third of it left, and both of them were buried as it were in ſubterraneous works, and divided only by planks and beams from one another. The Turks ſeeing themſelves in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of this platform, undertook to drive the knights entirely out of it. A battalion of the Infidels on the ſide next the ſea mounted to the aſſault, whilſt another body attacked their intrenchments ſword in hand. But they met with the ſame valour and reſiſtance in all places; and though the knights had loſt abundance of men in theſe bloody attacks, they yet repulſed the Infidels, and obliged them to retire.

'Twas however only to return a few days afterwards in much greater numbers. The attack was preceeded by a mine, which they ſprung under the baſtion of Spain. It made a great paunel of the wall fall down; and in order to hinder the knights from making new intrenchments behind this breach, a battery of their largeſt cannon played for a whole night and day with-

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out intermiſſion upon this place. The Turks, upon the thirtieth of November, returned at day break to the aſſault, whilſt Peri baſha at the ſame time attacked the Italian platform again. But the main effort of the Infidels was made againſt the baſtion of Spain; the Turks in great numbers, and ſuſtained by the braveſt troops of their army, advanced boldly up to the breach, notwithſtanding all the fire of the artillery, and ſmall ſhot of the beſieged; their great numbers prevailed over all the courage of the Rhodians, and they penetrated as far as the intrenchments, which the bailiff Martinengo had made before he was wounded; but at the ſound of the bells, which proclaimed the danger that the city was in, the grand maſter, the prior of St. Giles, the bailiff Martinengo, who was not yet quite cured of his wound, ran from different places, with the greateſt part of the knights and inhabitants; none of them obſerving any order but what his courage and perhaps his deſpair dictated; and all of them, regardleſs how they expoſed their lives, ruſhed with a kind of fury upon the Turks. The Infidels did not ſhew leſs courage; they grappled with one another with equal advantage, and without being able to diſcover what the ſucceſs of this terrible engagement would be. Happily for Rhodes there fell a prodigious rain; floods of water fell from the ſkies, and waſhed away the earth that ſerved as a ſhoulder-work to the trenches of the Infidels. This laying them open to the artillery of the poſt of Auvergne, it played furiouſly and killed a great number of them; and the other batteries, which they had placed upon the mills of Coſquin, and the muſketeers of the knights firing continually upon the breach, and in the midſt of the enemy that was lodged there, made ſo horrible a ſlaughter of them, that ſuch as could eſcape the fury of the cannon ran as faſt as poſſible to their camp and trenches, notwithſtanding all the menaces of their officers.

THE Turks were not more ſucceſsful in their attack of the platform of Italy: Peri baſha, who commanded at it, after loſing his braveſt men, and hearing of

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the ill ſucceſs of the attack on the Spaniſh baſtion, ſeeing likewiſe his troops almoſt drowned with rain, ordered the retreat to be ſounded. Such was the ſucceſs of a day, which would have been the laſt for the liberty of Rhodes, had not the grand maſter and his knights preſerved it by neglecting their own preſervation, and bravely expoſing their lives without the leaſt reſerve.

SOLYMAN could not ſee his troops coming back in diſorder, and in a downright flight, without falling into a paſſion: he had been almoſt ſix months with 200,000 men before the place, without being able to take it: the vexation he felt, and his apprehenſions that the Chriſtian princes might at laſt unite their forces in order to oblige him to raiſe the ſiege, made him ſhut himſelf up ſome days in his tent, without ſuffering any of his captains to come near him. No one durſt offer to come into his preſence: no body but Peri baſha his old governor, who had a particular privilege to enter, durſt venture to ſpeak to him. That ſubtle miniſter, in order to bring him to a better temper, repreſented to him, that the troops were lodged upon the principal baſtions; that he was in poſſeſſion of part of the place; that another aſſault would carry it: that they had indeed to deal with a ſet of deſperate men, who would ſuffer themſelves to be all killed to a man rather than ſurrender; but that the knights were reduced to a ſmall number; that the inhabitants, who were moſt of them Greeks, had not the ſame courage, nor indeed the ſame intereſt to be obſtinate in the defence of the place, and that he was perſuaded they would not reject a compoſition which offered them ſecurity for their lives and fortunes; the ſultan approved this advice, and ordered him to put it in execution.

PERI ordered ſeveral letters in the grand ſignior's name to be thrown into the place, exhorting the inhabitants to ſubmit to his empire, and threatning them at the ſame time with the moſt cruel treatment, themſelves, their wives and their children, if they ſhould be taken by ſtorm. The baſha afterwards employed a Genoeſe

a Genoeſe that happened to be in Solyman's camp, who advancing near the baſtion of Auvergne, deſired leave to ſpeak. This Genoeſe, whoſe name was Hieronymo Monilio, affecting a feigned compaſſion, ſaid, that as he was a Chriſtian, he could not bear to ſee the approaching loſs and maſſacre of ſo many Chriſtians his brethren, who would be overwhelmed with the formidable power of Solyman; that their fortifications were deſtroyed, their intrenchments ruined, and the enemy already lodged within the place; that they ought in prudence to prevent the diſmal conſequences of a town's being carried by ſtorm, and that it would not perhaps be impoſſible to obtain a ſure and even an honourable compoſition from Solyman. The commander of the baſtion, by the grand maſter's order, anſwered him, that the knights of St. John never treated with the Infidels but ſword in hand; and for fear leſt his artful diſcourſe ſhould make any impreſſion upon the minds of the inhabitants, he ordered him to retire. This cunning agent of the baſha, far from being diſcouraged, returned two days afterwards to the ſame place, under pretence of having letters to deliver to a Genoeſe that was in the place. But the commandant ordering him to retire, he declared that he brought a packet from Solyman to the grand maſter: this was a new pretext for entering into a negotiation; but the grand maſter eluded it, by refuſing to receive it, from the apprehenſions he was under, that the bare appearances of a treaty would enervate the courage of the ſoldiers and inhabitants; and in order to oblige this negotiator to go off, they fired ſome musket ſhot at him. An Albanian deſerter from the city, who had entered afterwards into Solyman's ſervice, was the next to act his part, and after the uſual ſignals, deſired admittance into the place, in order to preſent the grand maſter with a letter which he was to deliver to him from the ſultan; but he was not better received than the Genoeſe. The grand maſter, for fear of diſcouraging his troops, refuſed to give him audience, and declared to him, that they would for the future, without any regard to ſignals of parley, or the

character of envoys, fire upon all that ſhould offer to come near the place.

NEVERTHELESS the frequent arrival of theſe agents, and the grand ſeignior's letters, which the baſha had taken care to throw into the city, did not fail to produce the deſired effect. The greateſt part of the inhabitants being of the Greek religion begin to hold private meetings between themſelves; the moſt mutinous, or rather the moſt timorous and cowardly, repreſented, that moſt of them had loſt their relations and friends in the many aſſaults that had been given; that they themſelves were on the brink of ruin; that the enemy was intrenched within the place, and that at the very firſt attack they ſhould ſee themſelves overwhelmed with the formidable multitude of the Infidels; that they had for a long time been reſolved to ſacrifice their own lives, but could not ſee the diſhonour and ſlavery of their wives and children without the moſt piercing affliction; that they might prevent ſuch a terrible calamity by ſurrendering upon good terms; and after all, that whatever the knights might alledge, the example of ſo many Chriſtian ſtates, that lived peaceably under the dominion of the Turks, was a plain proof, that they might do the ſame, and that they, by paying a ſmall tribute, might alſo ſave both their religion and their fortunes.

SUCH diſcourſes as theſe, repeated at different meetings, determined the moſt conſiderable of the inhabitants to apply to their metropolitan: they begged him to take pity on his people, and to repreſent to the grand maſter, that if he did not immediately treat with the grand ſeignior, they muſt neceſſarily be the firſt victims of the fury of the victorious ſoldiers, and that he himſelf would ſee the churches profaned, the precious relicks of the ſaints trampled under foot, and the women and virgins expoſed to the brutality of the Infidels. The prelate entered into theſe juſt conſiderations, and laid the remonſtrances and requeſt of his people before the grand maſter. The grand maſter at firſt rejected the propoſitions of the metropolitan with a noble diſdain, and declared to him, that himſelf and

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his knights had, when they ſhut up themſelves in Rhodes, reſolved to be buried upon the breach, and in the laſt intrenchments of the place, and that he hoped the inhabitants would follow their example, and ſhew the ſame courage.

BUT the metropolitan found them in a very different diſpoſition. Fear on the one ſide, and a deſire of peace on the other, had got an aſcendant over them: new deputies were ſent back the day following, and applied directly to the grand maſter: they declared to him, that unleſs he took ſome care to preſerve the inhabitants, they themſelves could not help taking the moſt proper meaſures to ſecure the lives and honour of their wives and children.

THE grand maſter, juſtly fearing that deſpair might occaſion a fatal diviſion that would haſten the loſs of the place, referred them to the council. Whilſt they were deliberating about this important matter, three merchants knocked at the door of the council-houſe: they were let in, and preſented a petition ſigned by the principal inhabitants, in which they beſought the order to make ſome proviſion for the ſafety of their wives and children; inſinuating at the end of the petition, that if they ſhould have no regard thereto, they ſhould think themſelves obliged by all laws, both divine and human, not to abandon them to the fury and brutality of the Infidels. The grand maſter, before any anſwer was given them, ordered the knights that commanded at the ſeveral poſts to be called in, in order to learn from them a true and exact account of the ſtate and forces of the place. He addreſſed himſelf particularly to the grand prior of St. Giles, and the bailiff Martinengo, who had a few days before taken arms again, and reſumed the defence of the place. Theſe two great men, who had ſo many times expoſed their lives on the moſt dangerous occaſions, declared one after the other, that they thought themſelves obliged, both in conſcience and honour, to repreſent to the aſſembly, that the place was not any longer tenable; that the Turks had advanced their works above forty paces forwards, and above thirty croſs-wiſe into the city; that they were for-

tified there in such a manner, that they could no longer feed themselves with the hopes of driving them out, or that they themselves could retire farther back, in order to make new intrenchments; that all the pioneers and the best of the soldiers were killed; that they themselves could not be ignorant how many knights the order had lost; that the town was equally in want of ammunition and provisions, and that without a speedy and powerful succour, they could see no resource, and had even reason to fear, that at the first attack the Christians would be bore down by the formidable power and vast numbers of the Infidels.

ALL the council, upon the report of two captains so brave in their persons, and so greatly skilled in the arts of war, were of opinion, that they should enter into a treaty with Solyman. The grand master was the only person that differed from them in that respect, who, without abating any thing of his usual constancy and magnanimity, represented to them, that in the whole course of so many ages, as the order had been making war upon the Infidels, the knights had in the most perilous occasions always preferred an holy and glorious death before a frail and precarious life; that he was ready to set them an example, and begged of them, before they took so grievous a step, to reflect once more upon it in the most serious manner.

THE principal persons of the council replied, that if their own particular lives were concerned in the case, they would all follow his example and freely die by his side; that they were ready to sacrifice their lives; that they had devoted them to God when they took the habit; but that the safety of the inhabitants was the business in question: that if the Infidels should carry the place by storm, and enter it sword in hand, they would force the women and children, and all weak persons to renounce the faith; that they would make the most of the inhabitants either slaves or renegadoes; and that the churches, and particularly the relicks, which had so long been the object of their veneration at Rhodes, would be prophaned by the Infidels,

dels, and be made the ſubject of their contempt and raillery. The grand maſter yielded at length to theſe pious conſiderations, and they reſolved at the firſt overtures of peace that the ſultan ſhould make, to give an anſwer, and enter upon a negotiation.

The grand ſeignior, uneaſy at the thoughts of ſuccours, a report of which the knights had taken care to ſpread abroad, and unable either to take the place, or on the other hand to raiſe the ſiege conſiſtent with his honour, endeavoured by new propoſitions to ſhake the reſolution and conſtancy of the knights: they planted, by his orders, a flag on the top of the church of St. Mary, and in a quarter called the Lymonitres.

THE grand maſter thereupon ordered another to be fixed upon a mill that was at the gate of Coſquin. Upon this ſignal two Turks, who by their dreſs ſeemed to be conſiderable officers, came out of the trenches, and advanced towards the gate; they were met there by the prior of St. Giles and the bailiff Martinengo, to whom they delivered only a letter from Solyman to the grand maſter, without ſpeaking a word. The letter contained a ſummons to ſurrender the place, with advantageous offers, provided they ſhould deliver it up immediately, and threats of putting all to the ſword if they delayed it any longer. The common council of the order and the great council were for hearing the conditions which the ſultan offered: they agreed to give hoſtages on both ſides. The order ſent as deputies to Solyman Sir Anthony Grolée called Paſſim, and Robert Perrucey judge of Rhodes, who both ſpoke the vulgar Greek with facility. The Turks on their ſide ſent into Rhodes, a nephew of the general Achmet's, and one of Solyman's interpreters in whom that prince put an entire confidence. The chevalier de Grolée and his brother deputy were admitted to an audience of the grand ſeignior, who told them, that he was diſpoſed to let them go quietly out of the iſland and the caſt, provided they would immediately ſurrender up to him Rhodes, fort St. Peter, Lango and the other little iſlands of the order; but that if from a reſolution of

making a raſh defence, they ſhould be obſtinate in attempting to hold out any longer againſt his formidable power, he would deſtroy all before him with fire and ſword. The two deputies deſired to return into the place to communicate his intentions to the grand maſter and the council; but the Turks ſent back Perrucey only, with orders to bring a deciſive anſwer immediately; and general Achmet kept the chevalier de Grolée in his tent, whom he treated very honourably, and owned to him at table in the heat of the entertainment, that the ſultan his maſter had loſt at that ſiege 44000 men that had fallen by the arms of the knights, beſides almoſt as conſiderable a number that had died of ſickneſs and cold ſince the beginning of the winter.

DURING theſe preliminaries of the negotiation, a company of young fellows, who were ſome of the moſt inconſiderable of the townſmen, and who had not been conſulted in the petition which the principal inhabitants had preſented to the grand maſter, ran in a tumultuous manner to the palace, to complain that they were treating with the enemy without their conſent, and that would be delivering them up to a perfidious nation, that gloried in breaking their faith with Chriſtians, and that they all choſe to die with their weapons in their hands, rather than be cut to pieces after the capitulation, as the inhabitants of Belgrade had been. The grand maſter, who was uſed to the bravadoes and vanity of the Greeks, anſwered them with great moderation, that prudence did not allow him to publiſh the motives of the negotiation, for fear the grand ſeignior ſhould be informed of the ill condition of the place, and break it, and his troops make another aſſault, which he was afraid they wanted forces ſufficient to ſuſtain; but that he was exceedingly pleaſed to find them ſo well diſpoſed to defend their country; that they ſhould ſee him always at their head, and ready to ſhed the laſt drop of his blood for the preſervation of the place: he deſired them only to remember to bring thither on the firſt occaſion that might offer itſelf the ſame courage,

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and all the reſolution that they boaſted of in their diſcourſe, and in the preſence of their ſovereign.

As no great account was made of the idle talk of a troop of braggadocios, the grand maſter and the council being informed by one of their deputies of the ſultan's diſpoſition, thought fit to diſpatch two other embaſſadors to him, and choſe for that employment don Raimond Marquet, and don Lopes Cepas, both Spaniards, who, in the audience they had of the grand ſeignior, demanded of him a truce for three days, in order to regulate the capitulation, and adjuſt the ſeveral intereſts of the inhabitants, who were partly Latins and partly Greeks.

BUT that prince, being always uneaſy at the reports ſpread in his army of an approaching ſuccour, rejected the propoſition of a truce; and in order to determine the grand maſter to treat immediately, he commanded his officers to begin firing again, and prepare every thing for a general aſſault. He ſent back at the ſame time one of the new envoys, but kept the other, with a deſign no doubt of reſuming the negotiation if he did not ſucceed immediately in the attack.

THE batteries began to fire on both ſides, but not ſo furiouſly on that of the knights, who reſerved the little powder left them for the aſſaults they were unavoidably to ſtand. The grand maſter, ſeeing the attack begin again, ſent for the inhabitants who had ſpoke to him with ſo much oſtentation of their courage; he told them that now was the time of their giving him proofs of it: and an order was iſſued out in his name, and publiſhed with ſound of trumpet, to all the citizens to repair immediately to the advanced poſts, with a ſtrict injunction not to quit them either day or night under pain of death. The townſmen obeyed this order for ſome days; but a certain young man, terrified at the danger to which he was expoſed from the enemies artillery, ſtealing home in the night, the grand maſter ſent to take him, and the council of war condemned him to be hanged, as an example to the reſt, and in order to keep up diſcipline.

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THOUGH all the fortifications of Rhodes were ruined, and that the city was in a manner no more than an heap of ſtones and rubbiſh, yet the knights ſtill kept their ground in the barbacan or fauſſe-braye of the baſtion of Spain, where the grand maſter himſelf lodged, in order to take the better care of its defence; the Turks attacked it on the 17th of December.

THE engagement was very bloody and obſtinate; they fought almoſt the whole day on both ſides with equal animoſity; the grand maſter, and the few knights he had left, ran, as we may ſay, to meet their wounds, and rather than ſurvive the loſs of the place, went in queſt of death, that ſeemed to fly from them. In fine, they exerted themſelves ſo nobly, that after making a terrible ſlaughter of the enemy, they forced them to retire. But the infidels, animated by the reproaches of the ſultan, returned the next day to the aſſault, and came on in ſuch vaſt numbers, that the knights, bore down by their multitude, were forced to abandon the work, and threw themſelves into the city to defend it to the utmoſt extremity, and bury themſelves in its ruins.

THE townſmen, terrified at the approaching danger, abandoned their poſts, and retired one after another. The grand maſter and his knights were forced to make alone the ordinary guard of the place, and if thoſe noble ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt had not kept upon the breach, it would have been ſurpriſed, and carried by aſſault. In fine, all the inhabitants came in a body to beſeech the grand maſter to reſume the negotiation, and entreated him to give them leave to ſend along with his embaſſadors to the camp, two deputies of their own, to take care of their intereſts in the capitulation: the grand maſter conſented to it: the body of the townſmen named Peter Singlifico and Nicholas Vergati, when the chevalier de Grolée, who had renewed the negotiation with general Achmet, conducted them to the camp, and deſired him to preſent them to the grand ſeignior. But before they were admitted to his audience, the grand maſter, in ſome hopes, though

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they were very uncertain, of a ſuccour, and with deſign to ſpin out the negotiation, had directed him to ſhew Achmet an old treaty which ſultan Bajazet had made with the grand maſter d'Aubuſſon; in which he lays his curſe upon any of his ſucceſſors that ſhould break the peace he had concluded with the knights of St. John. The grand maſter gave this inſtrument to his embaſſador, that he might feel if Solyman, who was a zealous obſerver of his law, could be prevailed with, in conſideration of a conſiderable ſum of money, to raiſe the ſiege. But Achmet, as ſoon as he caſt his eyes on the paper, tore it to pieces, trod it under his feet, and drove the embaſſador and deputies of the people from his preſence: in fine, having no ſuccour to hope for, nor forces enough to defend the city, the grand maſter ſent the embaſſador and deputies to the camp; who, after making their compliments to the grand ſeignior, ſet themſelves with Achmet to draw up the capitulation, the principal articles whereof contained, that the churches ſhould not be prophaned, nor the inhabitants obliged to deliver up their children to be made janizaries; that they ſhould be allowed the free exerciſe of the Chriſtian religion; that the people ſhould be exempt from taxes for five years; that all who would go out of the iſland ſhould have leave to do ſo; that if the grand maſter and the knights ſhould not have veſſels enough to tranſport them to Candia, they ſhould be furniſhed with them by the Turks; that they ſhould be allowed twelve days time, reckoning from that of ſigning the treaty, to put their effects on board; that they might carry away the relicks of the ſaints, the conſecrated veſſels of the church of St. John, the ornaments, their moveables, their records and writings, and all the cannon that they uſed to employ on board their gallies: that all the forts of the iſle of Rhodes, and the other iſles belonging to the order, and that of the caſtle of St. Peter ſhould be delivered up to the Turks; that in order to facilitate the execution of this treaty, the Turkiſh army ſhould remove to ſome miles diſtance; that whilſt it lay at that diſtance,

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the ſultan ſhould ſend four thouſand janizaries, under the command of their aga, to take poſſeſſion of the place; and that the grand maſter, as a ſecurity of his word, ſhould give twenty-five knights in hoſtage, among which were to be two grand croſſes, with twenty-five of the principal burgeſſes of the town. This treaty being ſigned by the embaſſador and deputies on one ſide, and by general Achmet in the ſultan's name, and ratified by the grand maſter, and the lords of the council, the hoſtages agreed on repaired to the camp, and the aga of the janizaries entered at the ſame time into the town with a company of his ſoldiers, and took poſſeſſion of it.

WHILST they were employed on both ſides in executing the treaty, they ſaw a numerous fleet off at ſea, ſtanding in for the iſland full ſail, and with a favourable wind. The Turks, who were always uneaſy on account of the ſuccours that the Chriſtians had ſo long expected, made no queſtion but they were ſhips of the princes of the weſt coming to raiſe the ſiege. They immediately run to arms. Solyman and his generals were in great pain; but the fleet drawing near the coaſt, they diſcovered the creſcent in their flags; and after the troops on board the fleet were landed, they found that they came from the frontiers of Perſia, and that Solyman ſeeing his ſoldiers diſheartened by ſo many unſucceſsful attacks, had, in hopes that freſh troops might behave themſelves with more ardor in the aſſaults, ſent orders to Ferhat baſha to bring them with the utmoſt diligence he could. 'Tis to be preſumed, that if theſe freſh troops had landed ſooner, the knights would not have made ſo honourable a compoſition with the ſultan; but as they had begun to execute the capitulation, Solyman would not make any advantage of this ſuccour, nor fail in the performance of his word.

TWO days after the treaty was ſigned, general Achmet had a conference with the grand maſter in the ditch of the poſt of Spain; and after ſeveral diſcourſes had paſſed between them in relation to the attack and defence of Rhodes, he told him, that the grand ſeigni-

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or was deſirous to ſee him, and inſinuated to him, that he ought not to think of going away without taking leave of his conqueror, for fear he ſhould provoke his anger. The grand maſter being apprehenſive that he would be incenſed at the long reſiſtance he had made to all his power, as well as on account of the prodigious number of ſoldiers which that prince had loſt at the ſiege, was not very willing to deliver himſelf up into his hands; but as, on the other ſide, he was afraid of furniſhing him, by a refuſal, with a pretence, which perhaps he wiſhed to find, of not keeping his word, this great man, who had, during the ſiege, expoſed himſelf to the greateſt dangers, got over all conſiderations, and reſolved to ſacrifice himſelf once more for the ſafety of his brethren. He came early the next morning into the quarters to the entrance of the ſultan's tent. The Turks, out of pride, and a barbarous kind of grandeur, ſuffered him to wait there almoſt all the whole day, without offering him to eat or drink, expoſed to a ſevere cold, to ſnow and hail which fell in abundance. When the evening was drawing on, he was called in, and cloathing him and the knights that attended him with magnificent veſts, they introduced him to an audience of the ſultan. That prince was ſtruck with the majeſty that appeared in all the air, and over the whole perſon of the grand maſter, and told him by his interpreter, by way of conſolation, "That "the conqueſt or loſs of empires were the ordinary "ſports of fortune." He added, in order to engage ſo great a captain in his ſervice, that he had juſt ſeen by a woful experience the little ſtreſs that was to be laid on the amity and alliance of the Chriſtian princes, who had ſo ſcandalouſly abandoned him; and that if he was willing to embrace his law, there was no poſt or dignity in the whole extent of his empire but he was ready to gratify him with. The grand maſter, who was as zealous a Chriſtian as he was a great captain, after thanking him for the good will he expreſſed towards him, replied, that he ſhould be very unworthy of his favours, if he were capable of accepting them;

them; that ſo great a prince as he would be diſhonoured by the ſervices of a traitor and a renegado; and that all he requeſted of Solyman was, that he would be pleaſed to order his officers not to give him any diſturbance in his going off and imbarkation. Solyman ſignified to him, that he might go on with it quietly; that his word was inviolable; and as a token of friendſhip, though perhaps out of oſtentation of his grandeur, he gave him his hand to kiſs.

IN breach however of the treaty, and the poſitive promiſes of the grand ſeignior, five days after the capitulation was ſigned, ſome janizaries, under pretence of viſiting their comrades, who with their aga had taken poſſeſſion of the place, diſperſed themſelves over it, plundered the firſt houſes they came to near the gate of Colquin, broke into the churches which they profaned, and ranſacked the very tombs of the grand maſters, where their avarice made them fancy they ſhould find treaſure: from thence they ran, like ſo many furies, to the infirmary, that celebrated monument of the charity of the knights, drove out the ſick, and carried off the plate, in which they were ſerved, and would have carried their violence ſtill farther, if, upon the grand maſter's complaints, general Achmet, who knew the grand ſeignior's intention, had not ſent word to the aga, that his head ſhould anſwer for the plunder and extravagance of his ſoldiers. Indeed the grand ſeignior, who was fond of glory, and jealous of his reputation, was deſirous that the knights, when they retired into the various ſtates of Chriſtendom, ſhould, with the news of the conqueſt of Rhodes, carry likewiſe with them the reputation of his clemency and his inviolable obſervance of his word: and this perhaps might be the motive that engaged him, when he viſited his new conqueſt, to enter into the grand maſter's palace.

THIS prince received him with all the marks of reſpect due to ſo potent a monarch. Solyman in this viſit, ſo very extraordinary in a grand ſeignior, accoſted him in an affable manner, exhorted him to bear courage-

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ouſly this change of fortune, and ſignified to him, by Achmet who attended him, that he might take his own time to embark his effects, and that if the time ſtipulated was not ſufficient, he would readily prolong it. He retired upon this, after repeating his aſſurances to the grand maſter of an inviolable fidelity in the execution of the capitulation; and turning towards his general as he went out of the palace, "I can't help being concerned, ſays he to him, that I force this Chriſtian at "his age to go out of his houſe."

THE grand maſter was obliged to quit it even before the term agreed on was expired; for being informed, that the ſultan was preparing to ſet out in two days for Conſtantinople; he did not think it proper to ſtay in the iſland, expoſed to the mercy of the officers that were to command there, who might perhaps, in the grand ſeignior's abſence, value themſelves on giving ſuch explications to the treaty as ſuited their hatred and animoſity againſt the knights. So that not thinking it ſafe to ſtay any longer among barbarians that were not over ſcrupulous with regard to the law of nations, he ordered the knights, and ſuch as would follow the fortune of the order, to carry immediately their moſt valuable effects on board the veſſels of the order.

THIS diſmal embarkation was made in the night, with a precipitation and diſorder that can hardly be deſcribed. Nothing could be more moving, than to ſee the poor citizens loaded with their goods, and followed by their families, abandoning their country. There was heard on all ſides a confuſed noiſe of children crying, of women bemoaning themſelves, of men curſing their ill fortune, and of ſeamen calling out after them all. The grand maſter alone wiſely diſſembled his grief; the ſentiments of his heart were not betrayed by his looks; and in this confuſion he gave his orders with the ſame tranquillity, as if he had been only to ſend away a ſquadron of the order to cruize.

THE grand maſter, beſides the knights, put on board above four thouſand inhabitants of the iſland, men, wo-

men and children, who not caring to ſtay under the dominion of the infidels, reſolved to follow the fortune of the order, and abandon their country.

PRINCE Amurath, ſon to the unfortunate Zizim, would gladly have followed the grand maſter, and had agreed with him to come on board with all his family; but Solyman reſolving to get him into his power, cauſed him to be watched ſo narrowly, that in ſpite of all the diſguiſes he put on, he could never get near the fleet, but was forced to hide himſelf in the ruins of ſome houſes which the Turkiſh cannon had demoliſhed. The grand maſter, not being able to ſave him, took leave of the grand ſeignior, and was the laſt man that went on board his veſſel. The firſt day of January A. D. 1523, all the fleet, after his example, made ready for ſailing; and the few knights that ſurvived this long and bloody ſiege, were reduced to the diſmal neceſſity of quitting the iſle of Rhodes, and the places and other iſlands that depended on the order, and in which the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem had maintained themſelves with ſo much glory for near two hundred and twenty years.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Knights Hoſpitallers

OF

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Called afterwards

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at preſent

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

BOOK IX.

WHILST the happy Solyman was triumphing in the calamity of the knights of Rhodes, and that prince, who never valued the loſs of his ſoldiers, was rejoicing for a conqueſt that contributed ſo much to the glory of his arms, the grand maſter, before he ſailed out of the port of Rhodes, purſuant to the treaty which he had juſt made with the ſultan, diſpatched ſome brigantines, felucas and tranſports to the commander d'Airaique, governor of the caſtle of St. Peter, and to Perin du Pont, bailiff of Lango, with orders to abandon the ſeveral places where they commanded, and make an immediate embarkation of all the knights that were in their governments, and of all ſuch of the

inhabitants ſubject to the order as ſhould be willing to follow them, and to repair with all poſſible expedition to the iſle of Candia, where he propoſed to ſtop for ſome time to wait their coming up, and receive prince Amurath, ſon to Zizim, if he ſhould be able to make his eſcape, with ſuch inhabitants of the iſle of Rhodes, as could not, by reaſon of his precipitate departure, embark at the ſame time with him. That prince, after this, ſet ſail, attended by all his knights, and followed by a great number of Rhodian families. His fleet made up fifty ſail, conſiſting of gallies, galliots, brigantines, and feluccas of different bulk: He himſelf went on board the great carrack, taking with him the principal commanders, and particularly thoſe knights who were ſick and wounded; and it may be ſaid, that this great veſſel, by carrying them, carried the whole fortune of the order.

IT would be difficult to draw in proper colours the affliction of the inhabitants of the iſle of Rhodes, when they ſaw themſelves forced to abandon their eſtates, their houſes, and their country. As long as this little fleet kept within a ſufficient diſtance, they had all of them their eyes fixed upon the iſland; but as ſoon as they loſt ſight of it, their grief burſt out in cries and tears; which however was but the beginning of their ſorrows.

AFTER ſome days ſailing, they were ſurpriſed by a violent ſtorm, which diſperſed this little fleet among the iſlands of the Archipelago. The gallies eſpecially were in great diſtreſs for want of a ſufficient number of ſlaves and rowers. Solyman had, before the grand maſter's departure, taken from thence all the ſlaves who were either his ſubjects or of his religion; and the Chriſtians, who had voluntarily ſupplied their places, being very unequal to that employment, were rather an incumbrance to the ſervice than of any advantage to it. Several ſhips loſt their maſts by the violence of the ſtorm, and others that were overladen foundered. The poor Rhodians, to guard againſt ſuch like accidents, threw their bales and effects

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over board; at laſt, after ſtruggling againſt the fury of the ſtorm for three days and nights together, the wind fell, the waves ſubſided, hope began to revive in their hearts, and the ſhips that were ſcattered, arrived one after another in different ports or bays of the iſland of Candia.

THE grand maſter, who was on board the great carrack, ſtopped in ſight, and came to an anchor in the road of the town of Setia; others put at firſt into the ports of Spina Longa. As there were not any two veſſels of the fleet that kept together, they arrived one after another. They owed indeed their preſervation to this diſperſion, and if they had not been ſeparated by the violence of the winds, they would infallibly have fallen foul upon one another, and the bulging of a ſhip would have been as fatal as the ſtriking againſt a rock.

ALL the little veſſels, from the ſeveral places where they had put in for ſhelter, came up at laſt and joined the grand maſter. There arrived too about the ſame time the commander d'Airaſque, the bailiff of Lango, all the knights under their command, and the greateſt part of the inhabitants of the iſlands and fortreſſes of the order, who choſe to follow the fortune of their ſovereigns, rather than ſtay behind under the government of the Turks. When all this multitude was landed, the grand maſter made a general review, and the total amount of all, including men, women and children, came to near five thouſand. But having ſo lately undergone the fatigue of a terrible ſtorm, they were moſt of them ſick, faint and low ſpirited; all of them were unprovided either of proviſions or means of ſubſiſtence; and ſome, whoſe baggage had been thrown over board, were left half naked, and utterly deſtitute of linen.

THE grand maſter, who had ſupported the loſs of his dominions with ſo much reſolution, could not refrain from tears at the ſight of ſo forlorn a people. He was at the expence of procuring from the neighbouring towns proviſions, ſtuffs, and even linen, to new clothe ſuch as wanted them. And at the ſame time

enforcing these real and substantial supplies with discourses full of a spirit of charity, he assured them, that the order would always give them a share in their possessions and estates, to which, he told them, the poor had always the first claim. The people, in the fulness of their heart, made no other reply to such tender and moving sentiments, than by offering up their vows for the long continuance of so beneficent a life: Every one ran to kiss his hand; they all called him their father, and a name so dear to generous souls gave this great man a more sensible pleasure, than the title of lord and prince that was due to his dignity.

He was no sooner landed near Setia, but he sent advice of it to the governor and regency of the island. The governor immediately dispatched the noble Pauli Justiniani, to offer him all manner of succours that he might stand in need of, and invite him to come with all his people to the capital city, where they would find great plenty of provisions. The grand master, though no way pleased with these republicans, made no scruple to go thither. The governor, attended by the noble Dominico Trevisano, general of the gallies of the republic, the magistrates and principal persons of the island, came to receive him at his landing; they saluted with great demonstrations of their concern at the loss of Rhodes; but so very unseasonably, that the grand master, in a private conversation which he had afterwards with the general of the gallies, could not forbear reflecting on the timorous policy of the senate, who, though they had above sixty gallies in the port of Candia, had yet stood still as mere lookers on, whilst Rhodes was falling into the hands of the infidels, without vouchsafing to throw the least succour into the place.

The Venetian general could make no other reply to complaints that were so well founded, but by receiving them with a silence full of confusion; but to waive all explications on so disagreeable a subject, he invited him to stay in the island, till the winter and the severity of the season should be over. But the grand master, full

full of the higheſt reſentment at the inſenſibility which the Venetians had ſhew'd in ſtanding as bare ſpectators whilſt Rhodes was loſt, told him, that as ſoon as he could refit his ſhips, which had ſuffered in the ſtorm, he ſhould continue his courſe; and that his deſign was to go immediately into Italy, to conſult with the pope about a place where it would be proper to fix the great convent, and ſettle the reſidence of the order.

WHILST he was labouring with the utmoſt application to repair his ſhips, Leonard Baleſtrin, the Latin metropolitan of Rhodes, arrived in Candia with his clergy, and ſeveral of the inhabitants. Solyman had obliged them to leave the place, under pretence that they were neither Rhodians nor Greeks, and that he would not ſuffer any Latins within his dominions. The grand maſter, who had the higheſt eſteem for the virtue of that prelate, received him very courteouſly, aſſigned him a penſion upon the treaſury of the order; and the archbiſhop afterwards taking the habit of the order, he named him prior of the church, which was at that time the firſt eccleſiaſtical dignity of the order, and indeed the very next poſt after the grand maſter; and which, therefore, had a right of ſitting in the council annexed to it.

AMONG the various events that happened after the grand maſter's departure, the archbiſhop told him, that the grand ſeignior had given ſuch ſtrict orders to ſearch for the ſon of Zizim, that the unfortunate prince was ſoon diſcovered and brought before Solyman, with his four children, two boys, and as many girls; that the ſultan, whoſe intereſt urged him in the ſtrongeſt manner to deſtroy this family, and who yet carefully avoided the character of a cruel prince, in order to have a plauſible pretence to get rid of him, asked him, as if he had known nothing of the matter, what religion he was of? that the prince anſwered him with great intrepidity, that he and his children were Chriſtians; that Solyman, under pretence of puniſhing him for a pretended apoſtacy, had ordered to be ſtrangled with his two ſons, and had cauſed them to be executed at

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the head of his army, in order to prevent any future malecontent or impoſtor from making uſe of their name, and raiſing an inſurrection; and that after this cruel execution, the ſultan had ſent the two young princeſſes to Conſtantinople, to be ſhut up in the old ſeraglio.

THE ſhips of the order being refitted, the grand maſter ſet ſail about the beginning of March, and diſpatched at the ſame time a light brigantine to carry the ſeveral ambaſſadors which he ſent to the pope, and to moſt of the princes of Chriſtendom, to acquaint them with the loſs of Rhodes, and to complain of their having ſo univerſally abandoned him. This complaint was ſtill more juſtly levelled againſt the pope than the other Chriſtian potentates: But that pontiff was entirely taken up with the affairs and intereſt of the emperor, and managed them with as much application as if he had ſtill been that prince's miniſter. 'Twould be impoſſible to relate all the reflections with which the world arraigned his conduct on this occaſion: They publickly exclaimed againſt the little zeal he had ſhewn for the relief of Rhodes: And the very day that the city was ſurrendered to Solyman, part of the architrave of that pope's chapel falling down the very moment that he was going into it, and that piece of marble daſhing out the brains of one of his guards that went before him, the people, who are very ready to interpret the intentions of heaven, did not fail upon this accident to look upon it as a judgment for his remiſſneſs, and a plain indication of the wrath of God.

THE grand maſter was very ſenſible of the great weight and influence that this pontiff's recommendation, and eſpecially his example, would have had for the ſaving of Rhodes; but as he ſaw plainly, that he ſhould have occaſion for the pope's authority to ſupport his own, he ordered his embaſſador to explain himſelf in modeſt terms upon the want of ſuch military ſuccours, in order to engage him the more readily to grant him one of another nature, which was no leſs neceſſary for him in the preſent juncture. This prince, in loſing

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Rhodes, had thereby loſt, not only a powerful and ſovereign dominion, but likewiſe the fixed and independent reſidence of the order, the great convent of it, the center and bond as it were which united ſo conſiderable a number of knights of different nations in the ſame place, and in an immediate ſubjection to his authority. The fear of a general diſperſion gave him a ſecret anxiety. He was not without apprehenſions leſt upon his arrival in Italy, moſt of the knights, finding themſelves without any fixed and ſettled convent, ſhould retire into their own countries. He was in the dark even as to a place where he might ſettle with his council, and the body of people that followed his fortune; and what made his uneaſineſs ſtill greater was the want he ſtood in of a port for the exerciſe of his profeſſion, and for the ſending out his veſſels to cruiſe. He was afraid he ſhould ſcarce find any Chriſtian prince who would give him a place or port within his territories in abſolute property and dominion: And ſuppoſing there ſhould be found one generous enough to afford him a place of refuge, he was ſtill as uneaſy for fear he ſhould afterwards pretend to diſpoſe of the forces of the order for his private intereſts; or if the order wanted a retreat, and was left without that common band of concord, that the knights ſhould diſperſe and retire into their ſeveral countries, which would exceedingly weaken the diſcipline of the order, and end at laſt in its deſtruction and ruin. Full of theſe melancholy conſiderations, he wrote about it to the pope, and ordered his embaſſador to get a bull from him, directed to all the knights of the order, enjoining them, under pain of excommunication, and being degraded of their knighthood, to ſubmit to the orders of the grand maſter and the council, in what place ſoever he ſhould proper to fix his own reſidence, and that of the council.

THE embaſſador upon his arrival at Rome gave the pope an account of all that had paſſed in the defence of Rhodes: And purſuant to his inſtructions repreſented to him the melancholy ſituation of the order, and the

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juſt apprehenſions which the grand maſter had of a diſperſion, which would be ſtill of more fatal conſequence than even the loſs of Rhodes. The pope complied with the grand maſter's requeſt; and in order to retain all the knights under his obedience, granted him a bull, wherein, after extolling with juſt elogiums the zeal and valour which the knights had ſhewn againſt the infidels, he commanded them, in virtue of their holy obedience, to continue in a body under the grand maſter's authority, and threatned ſuch as ſhould prove refractory with all the cenſures of the church. The bull being iſſued out, the embaſſador ſent it to the prior of Meſſina, to deliver it to the grand maſter, who, purſuant to his ſcheme, was to arrive ſoon in the port of that city.

HE had indeed ſet ſail from the port of Candia; but he had been only a few days at ſea, when contrary winds obliged him to put in at Fraski, another port in the ſame iſland: from thence he went to that of Cerigo, formerly called Cytherea, and conſecrated to Venus, which is not above five miles from the main land of the Morea. The wind appearing favourable, the two carracks and the large ſhips ſailed before by his orders, under the conduct of Auſton, commander of the language of England, kept out to ſea, and arrived happily in the port of Meſſina. But the grand maſter, reſolving not to quit the people of Rhodes, who were moſt of them ſick, ſet out a long time afterwards, went on board a galley, and with a galliot, the brigantines, felucca, and ſmaller veſſels, with all that crowd of people on board, coaſted it, as being leſs dangerous, along the ſhore, with extreme difficulties, entered the Adriatick gulf, and arrived at laſt at the port of Gallipoli, a town of the kingdom of Naples, in the gulph of Otranto.

THE great number of ſick that were on board the fleet obliged him to ſtop for ſome time at this place. Whilſt he was taken up with providing for their relief, the knights, who were gone before him in the great ſhips of the order, arrived at Meſſina, where they found

found a great number of knights of different nations, who had rendezvouzed there with the ſuccours which they were in hopes of carrying to Rhodes. All theſe knights were under great uneaſineſs upon their receiving no manner of news of the grand maſter: Some were afraid, that the gallies and ſmall veſſels were loſt in the ſtormy weather that had happened, and the bad ſeaſon, which they put to ſea; others were apprehenſive, that the corſairs of barbary, which roved over thoſe ſeas, might have had advice of the grand maſter's departure, and the riches which he carried with him, and might have joined together to attack him; and that that little fleet, which was but ill provided, might have fallen into the hands of thoſe barbarians. Their apprehenſions were the better grounded, in that Solyman having obliged the grand maſter before his departure to releaſe all the ſlaves that were either born his ſubjects or profeſſed his religion, there was not a galley that had half the crew neceſſary to row it. 'Twas indeed this want of men, as much as the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, which had occaſioned the grand maſter's wandering ſo long in thoſe ſeas. In fine, he came about the beginning of May with his little fleet into the port of Meſſina. Inſtead of the uſual flag of the order, he hoiſted on the top of the maſt of the veſſel that he was on board of, a ſtandard or ſort of banner, on which was repreſented the image of the bleſſed virgin, holding her dead ſon in her arms, with this motto, *In the extremity of my affliction, he is my only hope*; AFFLICTIS SPES MEA REBUS. Pignatelli count of Monteleon, viceroy of Sicily, the archbiſhop of Meſſina, Fabritio Pignatelli, brother to the viceroy, and prior of Barletto, Charles Jeſvatre, prior of St Stephen, the prior of Meſſina, the commanders and whole body of the knights, the nobility, gentry, people, and all the city in a manner came out, and were preſent at the grand maſter's landing. The whole multitude had their eyes fixed on the venerable old man, whoſe conſtancy and reſolution made him as illuſtrious under his misfortunes, as his bravery in the defence of Rhodes had made him glorious.

AFTER

AFTER the viceroy had made him his compliment, and offered him in the emperor's name the town of Meſſina to ſerve him for a retreat, and for a place of refreſhment to his fleet, the archbiſhop and all the grandees of the kingdom, the gentry and people, by a ſolemn ſilence, very ſuitable to his ill fortune, expreſſed how much they ſympathized with him in it. But who could expreſs the real grief which all the knights felt for the loſs of Rhodes, the remembrance of which was renewed by his arrival? Such as were ſtanding upon the port, as well as thoſe that landed, unable to ſpeak a word, could only communicate their common affliction by tender embraces: Some tears ſtole from thoſe that had the moſt reſolution, notwithſtanding all their endeavours not to ſhed one. L'Iſle-Adam alone, always ſuperior to his calamity, diſcovered plainly by his reſolution, that he was worthy of a better fortune. He walked towards the prior's palace, preceeded by all the knights, bare-headed, who kept a mournful ſilence, and diſcovered by theſe demonſtrations of their reſpect, that tho' he had loſt his territories, he yet had not loſt any thing of his authority over a body of nobility and gentry, who in happier times would be able to conquer a new iſland of Rhodes.

THE grand maſter's firſt care after his landing, was to provide lodgings in his own palace, and the houſes adjoining, for the knights that were ſick and wounded. He waited on them himſelf, aſſiſted by the knights that were left unhurt. 'Twas indeed a very moving ſight to ſee theſe men, who uſed to appear ſo terrible with their weapons in their hands, now animated only by a ſpirit of charity, devote themſelves to the meaneſt ſervices, carry broth to the ſick, make their beds, and ſhew a diſregard to every thing but what might contribute to their relief and recovery.

FROM theſe charitable offices, ſo agreeable to the firſt inſtitution of the order, the grand maſter, ſtill inconſolable for the loſs of Rhodes, paſſed to a ſevere inquiſition and enquiry againſt thoſe who were employed to carry ſuccours thither: He ordered them to be

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cited before a full council, to give an account of their delay, and proteſted publickly, that he would without reſpect of perſons, puniſh according to law, as traitors and deſerters, all ſuch as ſhould be convicted of remiſſneſs and negligence in the execution of thoſe orders which had been preſcribed them.

ALL thoſe that were cited, and particularly pointed at by theſe menaces, preſented themſelves before that tribunal with a confidence which truth and innocence alone can inſpire. The priors of Barletto and St. Stephens were the firſt that appeared, who repreſented, that beſides a prodigious quantity of ammunition and proviſions which they had prepared, purſuant to the grand maſter's orders, they had likewiſe voluntarily, and at their own expence, liſted two thouſand old ſoldiers, and engaged a conſiderable body of volunteers and young noblemen to go to Rhodes; but that for the two laſt months the winds had held ſo perpetually contrary, and the weather had been ſo tempeſtuous, that no body had been imprudently bold enough to put to ſea; and that it was well enough known, that the chevalier de Nieuport, of the language of England, an old ſea captain, who buoyed himſelf up with the hopes of maſtering the waves by his skill, going on board at that time, was driven back by the violence of the wind againſt the point of a deſert promontory, where his ſhip with all his crew were loſt.

ANTONIO DI SAN MARTINO, prior of Catalonia, repreſented on his ſide to the council, that at the firſt news of the ſiege, he had fitted out a gallion at his own expence, and went on board it at the head of the knights of Arragon, Navarre, Valentia and Majorica, to go to the relief of Rhodes; that they were attack'd near the iſland of Corſica by a ſquadron of the grand ſeignior's gallies, which ply'd him with their cannon ſhot, and coming up cloſe with him, threw ſhowers of grenado's and firepots without ceaſing into his ſhip; that they made ſeveral attempts to board him, and were as often repulſed; but that after an engagement of ſix hour, they prepared to burn him with a fire-ſhip; but

a freſh gale of wind ſpringing up in the night, he made a ſhift to ſave his veſſel, which was terribly torn with the cannon ſhot, and got to the port of San Bonifacio in the iſle of Sardinia, from whence with great difficulty and danger he had made his way to Meſſina.

THE chevalier d'Albi, ſon to the duke of that name, ſetting ſail from Carthagena with the knights of Caſtile and Portugal, had much the ſame fate. He was inveſted by a ſquadron of Algerine corſairs, who poured in their broad-ſides upon him from every quarter. His main-maſt was ſhot by the board, his ſails and tackling torn to pieces, he received ſeveral ſhot between wind and water, without being brought to ſtrike, and was reſolved to blow up the ſhip, rather than let the flag of the order fall into the hands of the infidels. By good fortune he with his laſt broadſide ſunk the admiral of the corſairs: And the Barbarians launching out all their long-boats to ſave their general and the ſoldiers that were aboard him, the Spaniſh captain, improving the little interval which that advantage afforded him, made off, and got to the iſle of Buſa or Ivica, one of the Baleares, where he mended his ſail and tackling, but could not get from thence to the port of Meſſina till the beginning of December. The knights of Tuſcany and Lombardy repreſented in their turn, that they were to have embarked in ſome ſhips which the commander de Tournebon, prior of Piſa, and of an illuſtrious family in Florence, had hired upon his own credit; but that knight, who was to fit them out at his own expence, happening to die ſuddenly, they were left unprovided of the neceſſary funds to go on with that armament; that indeed they had applied to the receivers of Piſa, Venice and Lombardy, but they were ſo long in raiſing the money neceſſary to defray the charges of this equipment, that they could not help being the laſt who arrived in the port of Meſſina.

IN fine, the chevalier d'Auſſonville, or de Villiers, who had been ſent embaſſador to the kings of France and England, declared, that upon his arrival at the court of Francis I. he had repreſented to him in the warmeſt

warmeſt manner the preſſing need that Rhodes had of his ſuccour; to which that gallant prince replied, that though he was attacked on all ſides by the ſea and land forces of the emperor and the king of England, he yet would ſend orders forthwith to Andrew Doria, then general of his gallies, to ſupply him with three of thoſe that were the beſt provided, and alſo that he might take up in his dominions what proviſions and ammunition he had occaſion for: That continuing his road afterwards towards London, to wait upon Henry VIII. he had met that prince at Calais, who received him coldly, and that he could not get from him the leaſt encouragement that might give him room to hope for ſuccours: That he returned thereupon to Marſeilles; and Doria purſuant to the king's orders, delivered him three gallies, viz. the Ferrara, la Trimouille and the Doria, upon which above 300 knights of the three languages of France embarked, carrying with them eight hundred men, all gallant ſoldiers and warriors: That he had, with the money of the order, freighted three merchant ſhips which he found in the port of Marſeilles; and after loading them with ammunition and proviſions, ſet ſail for Meſſina, the place of rendezvous; but a terrible ſtorm, which had been at the ſame time ſo fatal to other veſſels of the order, had diſperſed this little fleet: That in all likelihood the tranſport veſſels had foundered; that the Ferrara galley was likewiſe loſt; that the Doria had ſtranded on the coaſt of Sardinia; and that none but the Trimouille had arrived ſafe in the port of Meſſina.

All theſe facts being clearly proved by the concurrent teſtimony and oaths of the knights, as well as of the crew of thoſe veſſels, "God be for ever praiſed," cried the grand maſter, "who in our common miſ-"fortune has given me the ſatisfaction of knowing "that no one can aſcribe the cauſe of it to the negli-"gence of any of my brethren of the order." Then calling about him the priors and grand croſſes, who had been brought before the council of war, he embraced them in a very affectionate manner; "'Twas neceſſary," ſaid

ſaid he to them, " for the honour of the order, as well " as for your own, that I ſhould make this examina- " tion, which will juſtify to all princes living, as well " as to the lateſt poſterity, that if Rhodes could have " been ſaved by the ſingle forces of the order, that " bulwark of Chriſtendom had not now been in the " hands of the infidels."

HOWEVER juſt theſe reaſons might be, they yet did not allay the ſecret reſentment of the knights, on account of the informations and criminal proſecution carried on againſt them by the grand maſter. Moſt of them deſigned to retire immediately to their priories and commandries; and ſeveral private knights, after their example, who had nothing to live upon, reſolved to return into their reſpective countries, and try to mend their circumſtances at the courts of their ſovereigns.

THE grand maſter getting notice of this kind of conſpiracy, called a general aſſembly of all the knights that were at Meſſina, in which he cauſed the pope's brief to be read, which had been delivered to him by the prior of Meſſina, and contained a prohibition to all the knights, under grievous penalties, to leave the grand maſter without his expreſs leave firſt obtained. He told them afterwards, that ſince the loſs of Rhodes, they alone might be ſaid to form the repreſentative body of the order; and if they did not keep together in this melancholy juncture, the order would dwindle inſenſibly, and perhaps be at laſt ſlighted by the ſovereign princes of Chriſtendom. He added, that after having expoſed their lives ſo often on various occaſions againſt the infidels, particularly in the defence of Rhodes, he might juſtly expect from the obedience they had vowed at the altar, that they would practice the patience neceſſary to procure them, before their ſeparation a ſettlement that might repair their loſs; and which might be declared the head convent of the order, and the reſidence of all the knights.

HE inſinuated very moving exhortations in this diſcourſe, which, with his repreſentation of the pope's orders,

orders, and the influence of his own authority, brought them to temper, and appeaſed the diſcontented. All their thoughts were now taken up in finding out a port where the order, agreeable to its inſtitution, might continue the ſuccours it had given for ſo many ages to the Chriſtians that ſailed in thoſe ſeas.

THE grand maſter's deſign was to go himſelf immediately to Rome to confer about it with the pope; but this great man was not yet at the end of his troubles and fatigues. A dreadful plague broke out at Meſſina; when he, in order to avoid the contagion, cauſed his knights, the wounded as well as the ſound, and all the Rhodians that had followed him, to re-imbark. This new imbarkation was made with as much precipitation as that from Rhodes: They were to avoid an enemy much more terrible than the Turks; but in ſpight of this precaution, the plague got into the veſſels of the order: Several knights [a] died of it, and amongſt others Gregory de Morgut, grand prior of Navarre, who had ſignalized himſelf at the ſiege of Rhodes, and the chevaliers de St. Martin Grimault, and Avogadre. The grand maſter, alike unfortunate by ſea and land, and carrying as it were, his enemy about him in his boſom, reſolved, in order to the recovery of the ſick, to go in queſt of a more healthy air; and with leave from the viceroy of Naples, he landed his colony in the gulph of Baiæ. After taking [b] a view of the country, he marked out a camp near the ruins of the old town of Cumæ; here they built cabins and barracks by his orders for lodging the knights and Rhodians: And for fear of being ſurpriſed by the corſairs of Barbary, who roved all along thoſe coaſts, he made broad ditches and intrenchments about his little camp, fortifying them with palliſadoes and artillery, which he took out of his ſhips. This change of air was followed with immediate ſucceſs; moſt of the ſick recovered; and after a month's ſtay in that mild and temperate climate, the grand maſter being impatient to confer with the pope about a

[a] Boſio, t. 3. l. 1. [b] Id. p. 16.

proper place for the ſettlement of his order, after giving him advice of his ſetting out, reimbarked with his colony, and arrived a few days afterwards at Civita-Vecchia. He immediately diſpatched the chevalier de Cheviere for Rome to compliment the pope in his name, and at the ſame time to deſire an audience of him concerning the diſmal revolution which had juſt happened in his order. The holy father diſpatched the biſhop of Cuença, a Spaniſh prelate, of his own family, to congratulate him upon his ſafe arrival in his territories. But inſtead of gratifying his eagerneſs, he let him know by the biſhop, that he could not adviſe him by any means to go upon his journey ſo ſoon, eſpecially in the dog-days: That he ſhould have patience to continue with his colony at Civita-Vecchia, and that after ſome time he would acquaint him with the day when he could give him audience: a pretence which the pontiff made uſe of to prevent the grand maſter's being witneſs of a declaration of war, which he was going to publiſh in great form againſt France.

To underſtand rightly this point of hiſtory we muſt obſerve, that Adrian, as ſoon as he was ſeated in St. Peter's chair, had, agreeably to the example of his predeceſſors, notified it to the grand maſter, and declared expreſly in the ſame brief, that nothing made that new dignity agreeable to him but the deſire he had of employing all the credit it gave him with the Chriſtian princes, to unite them in an holy league againſt the infidels: a proteſtation which he afterwards renewed in all his letters. But as if this declaration had been but a mere apoſtolical form of words, he, inſtead of forming a cruſade againſt the Turks, had juſt concluded a league between himſelf, the emperor, the king of England, and the duke of Milan, by which they were to attack the dominions of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, whilſt the conſtable de Bourbon, under pretence of a private grievance, was to raiſe an inſurrection within the kingdom. The league being ſigned, the pope went to the church of Santa Maria Maggiore the day of the aſſumption; he there ſaid maſs pontifically, aſ-

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ſiſted by all the ſacred college; and afterwards publiſhed with great ſolemnity, a declaration of war againſt France. Moſt of the cardinals were of opinion, that the pope ought not to quit the character of the common father of the faithful; and ſeveral of them repreſented to him, that he ought to reſerve to himſelf the acting the part of a mediator between the emperor and the king of France; but his paſſion for the houſe of Auſtria made him deaf to ſuch reaſonable advice; and the pope, though otherways a very good and diſintereſted man, devoted himſelf blindly to the ambition of a prince who was minded to invade France. [a]A paſſage which plainly ſhews, that private virtues do not ſufficiently qualify a man for government, and that great places muſt be filled up with great qualities and great talents. But whether God had a mind to puniſh the pontiff in this world for that ſpirit of party which prevailed in him, or, which is more probable, that the length of the ceremony had fatigued him too much, he was not able to go to a great entertainment which cardinal Pompeio Colonna gave, when church was over, to all the ſacred college, and the embaſſadors of the princes that had engaged in the league. An ague ſeized him as he came back to his palace, he was afflicted with it above a fortnight, ſo that it was only about the twenty-fifth of the ſame month, during an interval which his diſtemper gave him, that he notified to the grand maſter his being ready to receive him at Rome, and give him audience.

THE grand maſter ſet out immediately, attended by all his knights. Anne de Montmorency marſhal of France, his great nephew, was then at 1523. Rome. The king his maſter had ſent him thither, either becauſe he was not yet acquainted with the ſtep the pope had made, or elſe in order to engage him to quit the league. This French nobleman came to meet his uncle with a magnificent train, and went a conſiderable diſtance from Rome to receive him; and when the grand maſter drew near that capital of the

Chriſtian

[a] Boſio, i. 2.

Chriſtian world, he was met by the auditor of the pope's chamber, the ſteward of his houſhold, and the firſt prelates of his family, who came to compliment him in his name. They were followed by the light horſe and Swiſs guards of the pontiff, and theſe by the families and equipages of the cardinals; the duke of Seſſa, the emperor's embaſſador, met him at the field of Flora, and accompanied him to the palace. The grand maſter, as he paſſed over the bridge of St. Angelo, and in the piazza di San Pietro, was ſaluted ſeveral times by all the artillery of the city and caſtle. The nobility, gentry, and people in general, crowded to ſee this great man, who had filled not only Rome, but alſo the whole world with his reputation, and the valour he had ſhewn in the defence of Rhodes. With this numerous and magnificent retinue, he entered the pope's palace and apartment. The pontiff, tho' much weakened by his illneſs, when he ſaw him enter his chamber, roſe from his chair, advanced ſeveral ſteps to meet him; when the grand maſter proſtrating himſelf to kiſs his feet, he embraced him with great tenderneſs. He made him afterwards ſit down in the midſt of the cardinals who were preſent at the audience: and after having ſaid ſeveral obliging things about the greatneſs of his courage, and the valour of his knights, he aſſured him, that he would not omit any thing that could be done to preſerve an order ſo uſeful to all Chriſtendom. He then took leave of him, calling him the hero[a] of the Chriſtian religion, and the brave defender of the faith; titles which he juſtly deſerved, but which put the pope to much leſs expence than the ſuccours would have done, for which they had ſo often applied to him, tho' always to no purpoſe.

THE grand maſter never ſaw him after, the pope relapſed; and the fever was ſo violent, that perceiving himſelf near his end, he ſent for the holy viaticum: And calling all the cardinals into his chamber, he exhorted

[a] Magnus Chriſti athleta, et fidei catholicæ acerrimus propugnator. Boſio, l. 2. p. 20.

horted them in the moſt moving terms, and with great humility, to chuſe one for his ſucceſſor, who would redreſs the faults he might have committed in the government of the church. He died on the 14th of September, being ſixty-four years of age. 1523.

As ſoon as his funeral was over, the cardinals, who were thirty-ſix in number, ſhut themſelves up in the conclave, and were ſoon after encreaſed to thirty-nine. The grand maſter and his knights were entruſted with the guard of the conclave. Among the ſeveral aſpirers to the papacy, Pompeio Colonna and Julio de Medicis ſeemed to have the faireſt pretenſions. The illuſtrious birth and riches of Colonna, his ſplendid and expenſive way of living, his great liberalities, and his genius, ſo proper for the managing an intrigue, had procured him a great number of partiſans among the cardinals; and he had been ſubtle enough to perſuade them, that they would all make their private fortunes by contributing to his promotion. Moreover, his ſtrict attachment to the emperor, an attachment that was hereditary in his family, ſecured him the cardinals of that prince's faction. It is ſaid, that when he entered the conclave, he wanted only two votes to ratify his election; and he flattered himſelf, that he ſhould gain them by his intrigues among the contrary party. Medicis however balanced theſe advantages by the remembrance of the late pope Leo X. his couſin-german, whoſe memory was ſtill recent, and very dear to moſt of the cardinals, and thoſe eſpecially of his creation.

JULIO DE MEDICIS had always paſſed for the natural ſon of Julian de Medicis, till the pontificate of Leo X. That pope, who had nothing ſo much at heart as the grandeur of his family, declared him to be legitimate, upon the depoſition of his mother's brother, and the information of ſome monks, who certified, that there was a promiſe of marriage between his father and mother; a teſtimony that looks a little ſuſpicious in ſo delicate an affair. He entered at firſt into the order of the knights of Rhodes, and by the pope's credit he ſoon obtained

obtained rich commandries, and roſe to the firſt dignities of it: But finding that nature had formed him better for court intrigues than for war, he took holy orders, and Leo X. created him cardinal in 1513. He afterwards made him legate of Bologna, and collated him to the archbiſhopricks of Florence, Ambrun, and Narbonne, and the biſhoprick of Marſeilles. That pontiff, who was deſirous of making him the ſupport of his family, loaded him with riches and preferments; but notwithſtanding the ſupreme power he had in the church, his ambition was ſtill unſatisfied. During his pontificate, Medicis, in quality of cardinal nephew, had a great ſhare in the government; and whilſt Leo ſeemed entirely taken up with his pleaſures, he ſeemed to ſupport the whole weight of affairs on his own ſhoulders. 'Tis however certain, that the pope had much greater views than his nephew, a better knowledge of his true intereſts, and a much greater conſtancy and reſolution. 'Twas he alone who formed in ſecret the ſchemes of all his enterpriſes; but in order to give the greater credit to the cardinal nephew, and probably out of lazineſs, he left the execution of them to him.

THE cardinal diſpoſed of the poſts and dignities of the court; no promotion was made, but by his advice, and at his recommendation: He was a ſort of a ſecond pope; and after Adrian's death, he entered the conclave, followed by ſixteen cardinals, all of them his uncle's creatures, who, before they went to a ſcrutiny, always received his orders how they ſhould give their votes. Their deſign was to raiſe him to the pontificate: but the faction of Colonna threw an invincible obſtacle in the way. The two competitors, in order to know what they had to rely upon, and to make trial of their ſtrength, propoſed each of them ſeveral cardinals of their party. Colonna put up Jacobaccio, a cardinal of ſhallow parts, but one who was cloſely attached to him. The party of Medicis immediately threw him out, and Colonna played the ſame game with regard to thoſe that were named by Medicis.

cis. This diſpute laſted ſeveral days before either of them would yield to the other. The two parties, animated by their principals, pretended equally to have the glory of creating them popes, or at leaſt to have the ſovereign pontiff taken only out of their faction. Notwithſtanding the ſeeming calm, ſecret negotiations were carried on with vigour: Colonna and Medicis, either by themſelves or by their emiſſaries, were continually buſy in getting over ſome votes, and making conqueſts in the oppoſite party; but the cardinals of each faction were ſo faithful to their principals, that there were no deſerters on either ſide.

CARDINAL DE MEDICIS, as if he was out of hopes of being pope himſelf, and in order to over-reach Colonna, brought cardinal Urſini upon the ſtage, a perſon fitly qualified for the papacy, by reaſon of his great age, his learning, and eſpecially his capacity in affairs of government; but he was of a family that bore an hereditary hatred to that of Colonna, as himſelf was a declared enemy to cardinal Colonna. All the cardinals of the faction of Medicis by his direction gave him one day their votes; upon this, Colonna was as one who had been thunder-ſtruck; he was ſenſible, that Urſini, beſides the creatures of Medicis, had even ſome particular friends in his own faction, who might perhaps quit his party to raiſe Urſini[a] to the popedom. He was frighted, and dreaded ſeeing the papal diadem on the head of a man of his capacity, who would probably employ all the authority of it to ruin his family. In the fear therefore of falling under his ſubjection, and in order to ſecure his being ſet aſide, he, after having tried ſeveral expedients to no purpoſe, was at laſt forced to declare in favour of the election of his rival; he offered to give him his own vote, and all the reſt that were at his diſpoſal. The two heads of the parties[b] had a conference together, and entered into ſeveral negotiations, in which Colonna did not neglect his own intereſt. Medicis gave him a promiſe in writing of the poſt

[a] Hiſt. des Conclaves, t. 1. p. 168.
[b] Guicciardin l. 15.

poſt of vice-chancellor of the church, and a grant of his own palace, which was one of the nobleſt buildings in Rome. Colonna, after taking all the ſecurity that that could be given him, at the next ſcrutiny gave him his own vote, and procured him all the ſuffrages of his faction. By the union of theſe two parties an end was put to all diſputes; and after the con-

1523. clave had held two months and four days,

Nov. 19. cardinal de Medicis was unanimouſly elected, and took the name of Clement VII.

SUCH cardinals as were the creatures of Leo X. and the people eſpecially, who remembered with pleaſure the grandeur and magnificence with which that pope had lived, made great rejoicings at the firſt news of his nephew's election. They ſaid, that Rome muſt needs be happy under the pontificate of a prince, who had himſelf been witneſs to his uncle's great qualities, and alſo formed by him for government. But no body was more pleaſed with his promotion than the grand maſter and his knights: he was the firſt religious of the order that had been raiſed to the papacy, and in the unhappy condition the order was in, wandering about without a convent or fixed habitation, or without any port for their fleet to put in at, they looked upon the election of one of their knights as a particular act of providence, which, by ſo diſtinguiſhing a favour, was pleaſed to ſoften the anguiſh of their calamities. The loſs of Rhodes began to ſit lighter on the grand maſter, who imagined, that under the pontificate of a knight of his order, and by the aſſiſtance of his protection, he ſhould ſoon find a proper place of retreat, and even a new territory, where, agreeable to their inſtitution, and for the common advantage of the Chriſtian princes, the order might continue to ſend out their fleets as uſual, againſt the infidels.

Nor was he deceived of his juſt expectation; for there never had been, ſince the foundation of the order, a pope that expreſſed ſo high an eſteem, or ſhewed ſo tender an affection to the knights of St. John. The grand maſter, after a cardinal had proclaimed the election

tion of Clement VII. opened the conclave, and was the firſt that made his compliments to that pontiff, who made him publick acknowledgments for the good order and exactneſs he had kept with regard to the conclave; and the clergy of St. Peter de Lateran coming in to carry the new pope to the church, whither he went, attended by all the cardinals, Sir Julian Ridolfi prior of Capua, and embaſſador of the order, went immediately before him, compleatly armed, and finely mounted, carrying the great ſtandard of the order; a function which this very pontiff had formerly exerciſed in quality of knight of St. John, at the election of Leo X. his couſin.

No ſooner was the pope rid of that numberleſs multitude of ceremonies, which are inſeparable from an acceſſion to the papacy, but he, at the grand maſter's requeſt, gave him audience in a full conſiſtory. That prince had deſired it, in order to lay before him an account of the ſiege of Rhodes, and ſet forth in the firſt city of the Chriſtian world all that had paſſed in the defence of that place. The vice-chancellor of the order, who was the ſpeaker on this occaſion, related to them how ſix hundred knights that were ſhut up in Rhodes, had defended it for ſix months compleatly againſt two hundred thouſand Turks that attacked it. He went on repreſenting the thunder and continual fire of the artillery, the ruin of the fortifications, the lodgement of the enemy under the walls, the frequent aſſaults, the continual engagements which the knights had day and night with the infidels; notwithſtanding all which, they did not abandon the place till after they had loſt almoſt all their brother companions, their ſoldiers, the braveſt of the inhabitants, and till ſuch time as the enemy had carried on their works to the very heart of the place, and that they had no ground left to intrench themſelves and fight upon.

THIS relation excited at once the admiration and compaſſion of all the ſacred college; ſeveral cardinals, at the relation of the death of ſo many knights as had ſacrificed their lives in the defence of Rhodes, could not refrain 1524.

from tears; and the pope, in concert with all the conſiſtory, in order to preſerve an order and body of illuſtrious warriors, who were all of ſuch eminent ſervice to Chriſtendom, and provide for them till ſuch time as they ſhould meet with an iſland or port for continuing their military functions, aſſigned them Viterbo for their reſidence; a town ſeated about forty miles from Rome, in the patrimony of St. Peter; and permitted their ſhips and gallies to ſtay in the port of Civita-Vecchia [a].

To this favour, the holy father added another, which indeed was very honourable both for the order and its head; and by a particular act, Jan. 15th, 1524, ordered, that when he ſhould go to chappel, the grand maſter ſhould have the firſt place on the right hand of the throne, and that in all cavalcades he ſhould march alone, immediately before his holineſs: [b] The pope would have this regulation inſerted in the regiſters of the maſter of the ceremonies. The grand maſter, ſenſibly affected with theſe teſtimonies of his good will, went, before he ſet out for Viterbo, to the palace to return him thanks for them, and had afterwards ſeveral audiences of him, wherein he acquainted him with the various propoſals made him in relation to a fixed ſettlement for his order, which might compenſate for the loſs of the iſle of Rhodes. He told him, that during the vacancy of the holy ſee, various places on the continent had been mentioned to him, which he might have treated about; but that he had rejected the propoſal, becauſe the ſituation did not ſuit their inſtitution, whoſe profeſſion was to ſerve as convoys to thoſe pilgrims who ſhould embark out of devotion to viſit the holy places, and for a guard at the ſame time to all ſuch Chriſtians as ſhould go by ſea. That Andrea Vendramino, an old religious of the order, and Archbiſhop of Corfu, had adviſed him to caſt his eyes upon the port of Suda in Candia, or upon the iſle of Cerigo, which belonged to the republic of Venice: but that his holineſs could not but be ſenſible how that common-

[a] Boſio, l. 2. [b] Id. ib. p. 24.

monwealth, like ſome women who are uſed to bear with every thing flowing from the violence and extravagance of their lovers, frequently diſſembled the inſults of the Turk, and through a fear of incurring his reſentment, did not dare receive into their dominions a military order, which the grand ſeignior looked upon as his eternal enemy: That he had been likeways ſpoke to about the iſle of Elba, on the coaſt of Tuſcany; but the king of Spain and the prince of Piombino being maſters of the principal places of the iſland, it did not ſuit either the dignity of the order, or the common good of Chriſtendom, to have the grand maſter and ſupreme council of the order dependant on any particular prince. He added, that ſome Spaniſh knights, who were of the greateſt quality of that nation, probably in concert with the miniſters that the emperor had in Italy, had propoſed to him the iſlands of Malta and Goza, with the town of Tripoli on the coaſt of Africa, which belonged to that prince, in quality of king of Sicily. That this laſt propoſal, on account of the various ports that were in the iſle of Malta, was not diſagreeable to him; but then the emperor had ſuch ſubtle and ſecret views, that he was afraid leſt this project, which ſeemed to be only owing to a pious motive, might at laſt produce ſome ſort of ſubjection; and though they were to ſuppoſe, that the emperor would make them an abſolute conveyance, and grant them the iſles of Malta and Goza in fee ſimple, yet they could not, without great reluctance, take into their hands the adminiſtration of ſo weak a place as Tripoli, which was ſurrounded on all ſides with barbarians and infidels, ſo that the putting knights there in garriſon, would be no other than ſending them to the ſlaughter.

HOWEVER, notwithſtanding theſe conſiderations, which were not altogether without ſome foundation, the pope, after having maturely weighed theſe different propoſals, reſolved upon the laſt. But as he knew very well, that the emperor was no ſlave to his word, he, without explaining himſelf further to the grand

master, advised him to take his measures in such a manner as not to be caught by any secret designs of his ministers, who might perhaps have no other view but to increase his master's subjects in the persons of the knights. L'Isle-Adam, upon his arrival at Viterbo, sent an embassy to that prince. The embassadors were the prior of Castile, the chevalier de Martinengo, that excellent engineer, who had acquired so much glory at the siege of Rhodes, and the commander Bosio, chaplain of the order, one who had distinguished himself by his skill in negotiations. These embassadors, upon their arrival at Madrid, where the emperor then was, applied to him in the name of the whole order, and desired him to be pleased to grant them the isles of Malta and Goza by an absolute feofment, free from all manner of subjection and dependence; and they made this proposal without mentioning Tripoli, pursuant to their instructions. The embassadors did not fail to represent to him, that he, by a grant so suitable to the generosity of a great prince, would be the restorer, and as it were the second founder of an order, which had for many ages been dedicated to the defence of the Christians; and that the knights by their settlement in those islands, would put a stop to the ravages of the corsairs of Barbary, and secure the isles of Sicily and Sardinia, the kingdom of Naples, and all the coasts of Italy, from their incursions.

THIS was just what the emperor had in view; and his communicating this project to the grand master did not perhaps flow so much from a motive of generosity as from self-interest. Besides, the considerable expences he was forced to be at in maintaining garrisons in those islands, and in Tripoli, which he, by that means, would be eased of, he was of opinion, that the knights, who were the terror of the infidels, would keep them in awe by their valour; and that the squadrons of the order would serve for an invincible rampart against the enterprizes of the grand seignior, who, after the conquest of the isle of Rhodes, might perhaps be tempted to attack Sicily.

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THESE ſeveral motives were more than ſufficient to determine him to conclude the treaty: But this prince, who was the greateſt politician of his age, and who frequently reaped greater advantages by his negotiations than he did even by his arms, told the embaſſadors, that he was no way averſe to the propoſitions which they were come to make him; but that he yet could not reſolve to alienate Malta and Goza, unleſs Tripoli was alſo comprehended in the ſame treaty. That he inſiſted likeways, that the body of the order ſhould take an oath of fidelity to him in quality of its ſovereign; that a new creation ſhould be made of a ſecond bailiff of the language of Caſtile; that in the admiral's abſence, none but a knight of the language of Italy ſhould command the gallies: and as he very much doubted whether the order would ever ſubmit to take an oath of fealty to him, he added, that he had no intention of engaging himſelf to ſupply Malta with corn for the future. By this reſervation he ſecured to himſelf an abſolute dominion over the knights, 1524.
who could never ſubſiſt without ſuch a ſupply.

THE prior of Caſtile and Martinengo ſtayed at the emperor's court, and Boſio, by agreement with them,* returned to Italy, and came to Viterbo to the grand maſter, to whom he gave an account of the emperor's intentions. Had they come from any other ſovereign, they would not have been ſo much as heard; but moſt of the commandries of the order lying within the vaſt extent of that prince's dominions, they reſolved to wait, and ſee if time would afford them any relief, and if the pope's good offices could produce any moderation of ſuch hard conditions; and in the mean while, to keep the negotiation ſtill on foot, they prevailed with the emperor, before they gave him a deciſive anſwer, to allow the order to ſend eight commiſſaries to Malta, Goza and Tripoli, viz. one of each language, to viſit thoſe places, and afterwards make their report of them to the council.

* Boſio, l. 2. p. 26.

THE grand master was the less eager to conclude the treaty, because he had a new project at that time on foot, which was much more glorious and advantageous for the order; and this was to recover Rhodes, and drive out the Turks. The proposer of this enterprize was Achmet Bassa, the very same that had contributed most to the taking of the place. The reader may have observed in the foregoing book, that Solyman being displeased with Mustapha, who commanded under him at the siege of Rhodes, had turned him out of his post, and given it to Achmet: but at the request of his sister, whom Mustapha had married, that prince had sent him into Egypt to command there in quality of Begler-bey. He had no better success in that government than he had at the siege of Rhodes: whether it was owing to his unskilfulness in the arts of government, or to his avarice, or that he tyrannized over that people, who had been lately brought into subjection to the Turkish empire, a general insurrection arose in the provinces, and a prodigious army of Arabians and Egyptians came to besiege him in Grand Cairo itself, whose inhabitants, from the same motive, held secret correspondence with the rebels.

MUSTAPHA'S wife, alarmed at the dangers to which both herself and her husband were exposed, had recourse to the grand seignior her brother. That prince, whose interest engaged him to stifle this rebellion immediately, sent Achmet into Egypt at the head of a mighty army, to bring off his brother-in-law, and take the government of those great provinces in his stead.

THE new general, in a little time, beat the rebels on several occasions.* But after he had established the reputation of his valour, and the terror of his arms, he set himself to gain the malecontents by a conduct that was entirely the reverse of that of Mustapha. The taxes were, by his order, considerably diminished; and as he secretly aspired to make himself independent, and absolute master of the kingdom, he removed the Turkish officers,

* Hist. de Chalcondile, Tom. 1. l. 14. p. 489.

officers who were odious to the Egyptians, filling their poſts at the ſame time with noblemen of that nation; and in order to engage a body of troops in his intereſt, that ſhould be independent on any one but himſelf, he got together all the Mamelukes that were left in Egypt, and who, ever ſince the Turks ſubdued the country, had been diſperſed up and down in the remoteſt provinces. He made them his guards, increaſed their uſual pay; and then, being impoſed on by their expreſſions of affection and attachment to him, which was not ſo much the reſult of his merit as his fortune, and fancying himſelf maſter of their hearts, becauſe he was ſo of the country by his dignity, he was daring enough to aſſume openly the name and ornaments of a ſovereign. As he did not queſtion but Solyman, who was infinitely jealous of his authority, would ſend an army againſt him, he endeavoured to get himſelf a ſupport, and an alliance with the princes of Chriſtendom. Accordingly he ſent one of his partizans to the pope and the grand maſter, to propoſe to them a joint league againſt Solyman. This agent waited on them both, and preſented his maſter's letters, wherein he aſſured them, that if the knights came before Rhodes with a body of troops, they might depend, by the help of the intelligence which he had within the place, upon making themſelves maſters of it; or at leaſt that one of his creatures, who commanded in the two towers of the port, ſhould receive them there, upon the firſt ſight of any order from him.

THE grand maſter heard theſe propoſals with more joy than he was willing to diſcover. He anſwered the envoy, that he could not engage in this enterprize without firſt communicating it to moſt of the princes of Chriſtendom, but that the Begler-bey his maſter ſhould ſoon hear from him; and then making him a conſiderable preſent, he diſmiſſed him, and found a way to ſend him back ſafe into Egypt. While the grand maſter's thoughts were entirely taken up with this important project, the commander de la Roche Aimon was juſt landed, bringing at the ſame time ſome Rhodians

dians along with him, who determined him entirely to attempt that enterprise.

IN order to form a just idea of this point of history, we are to observe, that the grand master, notwithstanding all the misfortunes that had happened to his order, frequently sent vessels out a cruising, to keep the arms of the knights continually employed against the corsairs. One of these vessels commanded by la Roche-Aimon, was met by some Rhodian merchants, who were sailing in the mediterranean. They knew the flag of the order, and longing to pay their respects once again to one of their old masters, they came up with him, and went aboard the knight's vessel, who received them with reciprocal joy, and entertained them in a splendid manner. In the midst of the entertainment, the Rhodians being in a place of freedom and security, made grievous complaints against the tyranny of the Turks, and regreted the loss of the equitable government of the knights; these expressions of their regret soon grew up to earnest wishes for the restoration of the order, and its recovering possession of their island. As these merchants were some of the principal inhabitants of Rhodes, he began to consult with them about the various methods that might be made use of in order to drive out the Turks, and found so much facility in it, that he engaged them to come with him into Italy; and landing at Civita-Vecchia, he brought them to Viterbo, and presented them privately to the grand master, who received them with the utmost candor and civility.

THESE merchants, whom la Roche-Aimon had taken care to disguise, had a secret conference with the grand master, and represented to him, that the walls and fortifications of Rhodes were not yet repaired; that there was but a weak garrison in the place; and that the Aga before-mentioned, who commanded in the two towers of the port, had been a Christian, but had turned renegado purely out of weakness, and for fear of torments, who still retained a secret inclination for the religion of his ancestors; that he was, as far

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as his abilities would allow him, without prejudicing himſelf, a protector to all the Chriſtians of the iſland, and that the people, as ſoon as they ſhould ſee the ſtandards of the order, would, provided they brought them arms, turn them with pleaſure againſt their tyrants, and thoſe who were enemies to their religion.

THE grand maſter, like an able politician, was delighted to think, that for the better ſucceeding in his deſigns, he ſhould have more than one intelligence within the place. He exhorted the merchants to perſevere in their good intentions for the order; and after beſtowing the greateſt civilities upon them, and loading them with preſents, he cauſed them to be conducted back with the ſame ſecrecy that they came, to the place where there ſhip waited for them.

THAT prince, in concert with the pope, ſent afterwards the commander Boſio, who was very skilful in negotiations, over to Rhodes. He got into the city diſguiſed like a merchant, and was an eye-witneſs to the condition of the place, the ſtrength of the garriſon, and the diſpoſition, as well as the number of Greek inhabitants that were left. He made a ſtill greater progreſs in his negotiation, and talked with the aga, by the aſſiſtance of the Greek metropolitan, who was that officer's friend. Before he came to this interview, he had taken the precaution to fill one of the blank ſignatures, which the grand maſter had confided to him, with a letter for the Aga, in which he offered him great rewards, provided he would make good what Achmet had promiſed in his name; and at the ſame time ſhewed him the letter which the Begler-bey had written concerning him, and the two towers of Rhodes. The Aga, after having ſtood ſome time without returning Boſio any anſwer, made a reſolution at once, and told him, that he had been long wiſhing for an opportunity of returning into the boſom of the church, and gave his word to the grand maſter's agent, that he would receive the knights into the towers where he commanded, provided that beſides the troops neceſſary to defend them, and form the ſiege of the city, they would immediately

ly ſend a quantity of victuals, proviſions and ammunition, with arms for the inhabitants of the iſland. Every thing ſeemed to bid fair for the good ſucceſs of this enterpriſe, when news came that the grand ſeignior had defeated Achmet's deſigns, and got him diſpatched. That prince, upon advice of his rebellion, had ſent a mighty army againſt him, under the conduct of his favourite Ibrahim, a native of Albania, and who was both a skilful general and an artful courtier.

ACHMET had flattered himſelf, that the enterprize of Rhodes would cauſe a powerful diverſion in his favour; but the unhappy revolution that happened in the affair of the knights, prevented their making any attempts, ſo that Ibrahim's entering Egypt cauſed a general conſternation among the partiſans of Achmet. Nevertheleſs he, like a man of courage, began to make preparations to carry on the war. He ſent orders into all parts for the troops to march out of the moſt diſtant provinces to join him: But little deference was paid to his orders: An uſurper's authority is never fixed with any ſolidity in the beginning of a change of government: Several of his principal commanders, under different pretences, kept off declaring openly againſt their lawful ſovereign. Ibrahim hearing that things were in this diſpoſition, promiſed them a full and general pardon, and even rewards, provided they would diſpatch the rebel. Theſe traitors ſtifled him in the bath, opened the gates of Grand Cairo to Ibrahim, and made their ſubmiſſion to him. That general ſent Achmet's head immediately to the grand ſeignior, who, by this quick diſpatch, was eaſed of the trouble of maintaining a war in a diſtant country, and in a nation too that had ever been at enmity with the Turks, and in which his power was not as yet well ſettled upon any ſolid foundation.

THIS rebel's death frighted the Aga of Rhodes; the fear of being diſcovered, and of meeting with the like fate, made him preſs the execution of the enterpriſe, in which he had engaged himſelf; and the very ſame motive made the grand maſter, who had no hopes

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left of any ſuccour or diverſion from Egypt, reſolve, before he engaged further in it, to ſee how the Chriſtian princes ſtood affected, and what forces he could obtain from them.

WHILST theſe revolutions happened in Egypt, the commiſſaries which the grand maſter and council had ſent to viſit Malta, Goza and Tripoli, being returned back, made their report of the condition in which they found thoſe iſlands, and the town of Tripoli. They ſaid, that the iſle of Malta was only one continued rock of ſandy ſtone, and might be about ſix or ſeven leagues long, three or four broad at moſt, and about twenty in circumference; that upon the ſurface of this rock, there was not at moſt above three or four foot of earth, and that too all ſtony, a ſoil altogether unfit to produce wheat and other corn; but that it abounded in figs, melons, and other fruits, which were very plenty there, and that the principal commerce of the iſland conſiſted in honey, cotton and cumnin, which the inhabitants bartered for corn: That if they excepted a few ſprings, which they met with in the farther part of the iſland, there was no ſuch thing as ſpring water, nor indeed any well, ſo that the inhabitants were forced to ſupply that defect by ciſterns: That there was the like ſcarcity of wood; that they ſold it by the pound; and that the inhabitants were forced to make uſe of cow-dung dried in the ſun, or elſe of wild thiſtles, to dreſs their meat: That the capital city of the iſland, called *the* [a] *notable city*, was ſeated upon a hill in the midſt of the iſland, and was of difficult acceſs, by reaſon of the rocks which covered all the plain about it; that the place was only walled about without any other fortifications, except ſome towers which were erected over the gates of the city: That upon the ſouth-ſide of the iſland, there were neither ports, nor bays, nor roads, and that all the ſhore in that part was lined with vaſt rocks, againſt which ſhips, when caught in a ſtorm, were often drove by the violence of the wind, and daſh'd to pieces; but that they diſcovered ſeveral points

or

[a] Or conſiderable city.

or capes on the oppoſite ſide, and places that formed a ſort of bays and roads very proper to anchor in. They continued to relate that they had put in at the great port, which was defended by a fort called the caſtle of St. Angelo; and that below it there was a little town, commonly called la Cita del Borgo: That this port was divided from another called the Porto di Muſetto, only by a narrow ſlip or point of rock: That beſides the capital, the caſtle, and the town, there were about forty hamlets or villages, conſiſting of ſeveral dwellings; ſcattered up and down the country, and about 12000 inhabitants, including the men, women and children, who were moſt of them poor and miſerable, by reaſon of the barrenneſs of the ſoil.

THE commiſſaries preſented likeways to the grand maſter and council a plan of the iſland, in which they had taken care to deſcribe with great exactneſs ſeveral little bays and roads, which ſerved as a ſhelter to fiſhermen, and where the corſairs ſometimes put into. They added, that the convenience of ſo many ports, ſo convenient for the armadoes of the order, made them be of opinion, that the emperor's propoſals ought not to be rejected, provided he did not by his grant pretend to oblige them to turn their arms againſt his particular enemies.

As for the iſle of Goza, called by the inhabitants Gaudiſch, they ſaid it was ſeparated from that of Malta only by a narrow channel, which went by the name of Freo, of a league and a half, or two leagues in breadth, in the middle of which lay the little iſles or rocks called Comin and Cominot: That Goza was about eight leagues in circumference, three long, and one and a half broad; that they could not find any port in it; that it was all ſurrounded with craggy rocks and ſhelves, ſo that there was no landing but with great difficulty: That however, the ſoil ſeemed to be very fruitful; that there were about five thouſand perſons in it, including men, women and children, who were diſperſed up and down in different villages; who, for their ſecurity againſt the corſairs, had built a caſtle ſituated on a hill; but

but that in their opinion it was ill fortified, and of very little consequence: that notwithstanding its being so weak, they did not think the council would act prudently were they to accept the offer which was made them of the isle of Malta, separately from that of Goza, which lay too near it, and which might some time or other serve for a retreat to their enemies.

THE commissaries did not form the same judgment with respect to the town and castle of Tripoli. They represented to the council, that the place, which was seated on the coast of Barbary, near eighty leagues from Malta, had no fortifications about it, and that it was almost impossible to raise any there in a sandy soil, and bottom full of water; that the ditches were neither broad nor deep enough; the port and castle being commanded by a hill adjoining: and in a word, that the place was surrounded by the territories of the king of Tunis, who would not suffer the Christians to continue there long; and that the great distance of it from Malta would not allow them, in case it was attacked, to throw in seasonable succours; that corn was still scarcer at Tripoli than at Malta, by reason of the barrenness of its soil, which bore nothing but dates. From all which they concluded, that if they undertook the defence of the place, they should be exposed to lose all the knights they might afterwards put in garrison there.

THE grand master acquainted the pope with this relation, and desired him to use his good offices with the emperor, to engage him to excuse the order from the defence of Tripoli, and remit the other heavy conditions he was for annexing to the feofment of Malta: but, at that juncture, it would have been impossible for him to have pitched on a mediator with Charles V.[a] who was less agreeable to that monarch, or more suspected by him than Clement VII. There was actually at that time a league on foot between that pontiff, the king of England,

1524. August.

[a] Bosio, l. 2. p. 32.

land, and the Venetians, in order to maintain the liberty of Italy, which was threatened with
1525. an entire ſubverſion, ſince the loſs of the
Feb. 24. battle of Pavia, in which Francis I. king of France had been taken priſoner by the emperor's generals.

THAT prince, whoſe perſonal qualities merited a better fortune, had invaded the dutchy of Milan, which he pretended belonged to him and queen Claude his wife, in right of Valentina Viſconti, wife to Lewis duke of Orleans, brother to Charles VI. The Sforzas had ſeized on it in prejudice of the princes of the houſe of Orleans. Francis Sforza was actually in poſſeſſion of it. The emperor, under pretence of ſupporting him as his vaſſal, had ſent a ſtrong army into the Milaneſe, and, after the battle of Pavia, his generals behaved more like conquerors than protectors and commanders of auxiliary troops. They put garriſons, in the emperor's name, into the principal towns of the dutchy, under pretence that the new duke had not yet received the inveſtiture of it. The pope and Italian princes, who, in the beginning of the war, were equally afraid of the neighbourhood of two ſuch powerful princes, could have wiſhed, that the French had not diſturbed Sforza in the poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe.

THE king's being taken priſoner, brought not only the Italian princes, but alſo the king of England over to the party of France. Sforza himſelf, who had now no reaſon of being under any further apprehenſions from a prince, who was both a priſoner and oppreſſed by the imperialiſts, who continued to plunder him of his dominions, negotiated a league againſt a potentate who was for ſwallowing up all Europe, and aſpired to an univerſal monarchy.

SUCH was the ſituation of affairs, and the occaſion or pretence of a war, which in reality had no other ſource than the ambition of Charles V. After the death of the emperor Maximilian, that prince and Francis I. were rivals in the election for the empire. This rivalſhip of rights and pretenſions, which monarchs are ſcarce ever at a loſs for, when they do not want forces,

ces, and their perſonal qualities, which were excellent indeed, but directly oppoſite in both; all theſe circumſtances, I ſay, inſpired thoſe two great princes with an emulation of glory, which, after the election of Charles V. was ſucceeded by an animoſity, that was not to be appeaſed by the blood of ſo many thouſands of their ſubjects. All mankind beheld with admiration in the perſon of Francis I. a courage that was proof againſt the greateſt dangers of war, a noble frankneſs worthy of a better age, an inviolable faith in his treaties, and goodneſs and clemency towards his ſubjects: but it would have been happy had this prince been leſs devoted to his pleaſures, had been more ſecret in his affairs, had uſed a cloſer attention and purſuit in the execution of his deſigns, and had never employed his favourites as his miniſters and generals. Charles V. on the contrary, had all the qualities of a great politician, but few of thoſe virtues which have their ſeat in the heart, and that ſhine with luſtre in a private man. He was puffed up with an inſatiable ambition, intereſt was the ſole motive of all his actions, was impenetrable in his deſigns, always attentive to the different diſpoſitions of all the princes of Europe, had a ſuperior capacity to all his miniſters, was happy in the choice of his generals, had no reliſh for the pomp and luxury of entertainments, and if he was not ſo chaſte as the precepts of Chriſtianity might require, he yet, at leaſt, in order to avoid ſcandal, was as careful to conceal his gallantries from the penetrating eye of the courtier, as other princes of his time were to publiſh theirs. In a word, he was in reality without faith, probity, honour, or even gratitude; and he yet uſed his utmoſt endeavours, by his behaviour, to perſuade the world that he poſſeſſed all thoſe virtues.

It was ſcarce poſſible for two princes, endowed with ſuch great qualities, both of them ambitious, brave, powerful, and neighbours to one another, to remain long in peace, or leave the reſt of Europe ſo. From the pictures of theſe two monarchs, of which we have only given the reader a ſketch, he will eaſily judge,

that fortune muſt be obliged to declare for the ableſt of the two: and indeed Francis I. became the prey of his enemy, ſo that the buſineſs at that time was to negotiate a peace, and the recovery of his liberty. Charles V. rated them both at ſo high a price, that the king, greatly diſguſted at the hardneſs of the conditions, proteſted openly, that he would ſooner reſign the crown to the dauphin his ſon, than tear off one of its fineſt flowers.

BUT the regent his mother, not minding a deſign which the uneaſineſs of his imprisonment had occaſioned, reſolved to ſend the dutcheſs of Alençon her daughter and the king's ſiſter, into Spain; ſhe was a princeſs adorned with all the graces of nature, brought up in the intrigues of a court, and of as complying a temper as if ſhe had not been born with that pride and empire, which are almoſt inſeparable from a multitude of charms, eſpecially when ſupported by ſo illuſtrious a birth. The regent was in hopes, that ſhe would prevail with the emperor to ſet the king her brother at liberty, upon leſs hateful conditions. To aſſiſt her in this important negotiation, ſhe named the archbiſhop of Ambrun, known afterwards by the title of the cardinal de Tournon, the biſhop of Tarbes, afterwards cardinal de Grammont, and de Selve firſt preſident of the parliament of Paris. The writer of the annals of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem relates, that the regent, thoroughly perſuaded of the grand maſter's affection for the perſon and ſervice of the king her ſon, ſent him an expreſs to deſire him to convey the princeſs her daughter to Spain, on board the gallies of the order: that the marſhal de Montmorency his great nephew wrote to him about it, by the regent's order, in the moſt preſſing terms, and that nobleman, in order to determine him by motives, drawn from his own intereſt, to undertake the voyage, repreſented to him, that as his order ſtood in need of a fixe and fixed ſettlement, he, by his preſence, and treating in perſon with the emperor, would be able to get over that infinite number of difficulties, which that prince's

[a] Boſio, t. 3. l. 2 p. 38.

princes's miniſters in Italy ſtarted, with regard to the feofment of the iſles of Malta and Goza, and the town of Tripoli.

THE grand maſter acquainted the pope with theſe diſpatches of the regent: Clement, who was actually engaged in meaſures with that princeſs, highly approved the voyage; he was deſirous of the king's liberty, perhaps not ſo much out of regard for him, as for fear of the formidable power of his enemy; he flattered himſelf, that if they could once get Francis I. out of priſon, that prince, to revenge the ſeverity of his treatment, would not fail to open a new war, which, ſhould it but once break out between two ſuch implacable enemies, would be the ſecurity of the other ſovereigns, and maintain a peace in the reſt of Europe. The grand maſter, upon his holineſs's anſwer, embarked on board the gallies of the order at Civita-Vecchia, and went to Marſeilles, where he waited upon the regent, and had ſeveral conferences with her, during the time he waited for the dutcheſs of Alençon. 1525. June 25.

THE emperor's miniſters, alarmed and jealous of this voyage, the motive of which they were utter ſtrangers to, ſeized immediately on all the revenues of the order in Italy: the emperor did not fail to approve their conduct; that prince was diſpleaſed with the grand maſter and council on other accounts. We have already obſerved, that he had offered them the iſles of Malta and Goza, and the town of Tripoli, for their reſidence; the order's retarding to give him a poſitive anſwer, made him reſolve to write in particular to the languages of Caſtile and Arragon, the knights whereof were born his ſubjects; and he diſpatched away a Spaniſh knight to the council, Peter Fernandez Heredia, or Errera by name, who, upon his arrival at Viterbo, repreſented, in the emperor's name, to the lord of the council, that from a perſuaſion that the order would accept of ſo conſiderable a ſettlement with great ſatisfaction, as well as acknowledgement, he had for eighteen months paſt delayed providing for the fortifi-

cation of thoſe iſlands, and deſired, that the council would tell him their ſentiments plainly upon thoſe points. The envoy added, in a very arrogant manner, that if there was any language who ſhould oppoſe them, the emperor his maſter would take his meaſures accordingly.

THAT prince, dazzled by a conſtant ſeries of proſperity, and grown more haughty by the king's impriſonment, imagined himſelf able to give laws to all the powers of Europe; and this domineering ſpirit had diffuſed itſelf into the languages of thoſe who were born in his dominions. The Spaniſh knights were for governing in the council, and would have the emperor's offers accepted immediately, and the dependence and ſubjection he annexed to them ſubmitted to: nay, ſome of them went ſo far as to inſinuate, that if the French would not comply with their ſentiments, they would divide from them; that they would ſettle themſelves at Malta, independent even on the grand maſter, and that they were in hopes of prevailing with the emperor to unite the order of Monteza, a Spaniſh foundation, to their particular congregation, that they might indemnify the order for what they might loſe in France, by the withdrawing of the French knights and commanders.

BUT the council, as well as diſcreeteſt of the Spaniſh knights, who abhored a ſchiſm, anſwered the envoy, that the whole order was very ſenſible of the generous offers of his imperial majeſty; but that, in an affair of ſuch importance, they could not take any deciſive reſolution without the grand maſter's preſence, and the pope's expreſs conſent; that they would write immediately to them both; that they underſtood the grand maſter was gone to the emperor's court, in order to learn from his own mouth what were his intentions with reſpect to the iſle of Malta, and that they were in hopes, that that great prince would, for the general good and honour of the order, moderate ſome of the conditions which he was for annexing to that feoffment.

THE

THE council immediately diſpatched away the commander Boſio for France, to give the grand maſter advice of the ſequeſtration which the emperor's miniſters had made of the eſtates which belonged to the order in Italy, and the propoſals which the chevalier Errera had made before all the council. The grand maſter deferred anſwering the council, till he had ſeen the emperor; he ordered Boſio to follow him, and ſet out for Spain with the dutcheſs of Alençon, for whom the king of England had got a ſafe conduct.

As ſoon as this princeſs was arrived at Madrid, and that the emperor had diſcharged the ceremonial, and paid the firſt honours that were due to her quality, he gave a private audience to the grand maſter, who firſt gave him an account of all that had paſſed at the ſiege[a] and ſur- 1525.

render of Rhodes. That great man afterwards repreſented to him the loſſes which the order had ſuſtained in that place, and the deplorable condition the whole body was in at that time; and finding the emperor was moved and affected with ſuch a number of calamities, he complained in the ſofteſt terms of the ſeizure which his miniſters had made of the eſtates of the Italian commanderies, under pretence, that in his way to Spain, he had paſſed through France, before he came to his court. To prevent the deſigns which the emperor, in granting the iſle of Malta to the knights, might have of making them his vaſſals, he wittily inſinuated to him, that though they were all born ſubjects of different ſovereigns, yet the order in general, by its profeſſion, was independent from any of them; that a knight, who was a Frenchman by nation, was no more devoted to the king of France than he was to his imperial majeſty; that the only view of their inſtitution was to defend all Chriſtians alike againſt the incurſions of the infidels; that for ſo many ages as the order had exiſted with ſome kind of glory, it had never been yet known to engage againſt any Chriſtian prince in favour of another. He entered afterwards into the affair of Malta,

[a] Guicciardin, l. 16.

Malta, and omitting the hard conditions which the emperor was for tying them down to, he told him in general, that the order would have long before reaped the advantages of his imperial majeſty's beneficence, if they had not been withheld by hopes of recovering Rhodes; that there was a party formed for the execution of that enterpriſe; upon which he, with the emperor's leave, brought the commander Boſio into his chamber, who gave him a very particular account of all the meaſures he had taken on that account with the principal inhabitants. He added, that the order wanted nothing but a ſum of money neceſſary to raiſe three or four thouſand men, and carry at the ſame time arms for the inhabitants, whom the Turks had diſarmed with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs.

THE emperor entered into the grand maſter's views: however, before he engaged further in the project, he adviſed him to confer with the duke of Alva, his ableſt general, about it. He added further, that in caſe that nobleman ſhould find the execution of it practicable, he himſelf would freely give 25000 crowns to facilitate its ſucceſs; that he wiſhed the other potentates of Chriſtendom would likeways contribute to it; but that if, after all, the project ſhould not happen to ſucceed, the order might nevertheleſs depend upon having the iſle of Malta for their ſettlement; and, as an earneſt of his friendſhip, he immediately ordered a full and entire reſtitution to be made of all the revenues which his miniſters had ſequeſtrated in Italy. The grand maſter, who was very ſenſible that monarchs will never own themſelves to be in the wrong, thanked him for that act of his juſtice, in as handſome and grateful a manner, as if he had received a favour from him. He begged leave, before he left him, to wait upon the king of France; which the emperor readily granted him, in hopes that the grand maſter might contribute to the negotiation of a peace.

AN officer of his guards, by his order, conducted him to the apartment of Francis I. That prince was not guarded like a priſoner of war, but rather like a ſtate-

criminal.

criminal. Charles V. although the king's vaſſal, in order to extort an immenſe ranſom, and the exorbitant conditions from his lord, did his utmoſt to make his impriſonment inſupportable to him. Such harſh and unworthy uſage threw Francis I. into a deep melancholy, which was ſucceeded by a violent fever. The arrival of the princeſs his ſiſter, who was very dear to him, gave him the firſt emotions of joy ever ſince his misfortune. His health grew better, and the grand maſter being introduced into his room at this juncture, ſhe embraced him very affectionately, extolled the brave defence he had made at Rhodes, and ordered the miniſters who accompanied the princeſs his ſiſter, not to treat of any article in their negotiations with the emperor's miniſters, without firſt communicating it to the grand maſter. He was admitted into all their conferences, where he acted as a mediator. His dignity and great reputation, his prudence and excellent capacity, greatly enforced his remonſtrances; and he left no expedient untried in order to reconcile the intereſts of thoſe two princes, and engage them, by a ſolid peace, to unite their arms againſt the common enemy of the Chriſtians. The dutcheſs of Alençon, on her ſide, employed all the charms of her wit, in order to conquer the emperor's harſhneſs and obſtinacy; but that prince, who was regardleſs of every thing but his intereſt, and who fancied, that as the king was his priſoner, he might ſoon make himſelf maſter of a part of France; beſides the renunciations which the king offered to make of his rights to the Milaneſe and kingdom of Naples, as well as to the homage of the counties of Flanders and Artois, and alſo an immenſe ſum of money, inſiſted likeways on the dutchy of Burgundy, in order to enable himſelf, in caſe the war ſhould break out again, to fall with his troops into France, and march up to the gates of Paris. The king, who was highly ſenſible of the importance of this alienation, rejected the propoſition with great reſolution; and to ſhew the emperor that he would rather renounce his liberty than ſo conſiderable a branch of his crown, he

reſolved

reſolved to part with the princeſs his ſiſter, and deprive himſelf of her company, though it was the only comfort he had left. He made her ſet out on her return for France, and ſhe was likeways obliged to it upon ſome private advices which ſhe received, that the emperor ſought nothing but a pretence to give orders for her being arreſted.

CHARLES V. the moſt artful prince of his time, had purpoſely ſpun out the negotiations, in order that the ſafe conduct which he had granted her might be expired. He was ſurpriſed at the princeſs's departure, and he ſent orders to the frontiers of Spain to ſtop her the very day that the term of her ſafe conduct ſhould be at an end; but the princeſs being well informed of this trick which he deſigned to play her, travelled as many miles in one day upon the ſame road in her return, as ſhe had done in four at her coming into Spain. This expedition, and Clermont de Lodeve's arrival on the frontier, with a large convoy, on the laſt day of the ſafe conduct, hindered the emperor's officers from making any attempt to ſeize her perſon; ſo that the emperor could not gain any advantage by his artifice.

THE departure of the princeſs did not any way cool the grand maſter's zeal and good offices in promoting a peace. He frequently repreſented the ne-
1525. ceſſity of it to the emperor and his miniſters; declaring, that whilſt that prince's arms were employed againſt France, Solyman was puſhing his conqueſts in Hungary, and opening himſelf a way to penetrate into Auſtria and the hereditary countries. On the other ſide, when he was got with the king, he made him ſenſible how neceſſary his preſence was in his kingdom, but proved to him at the ſame time, that the emperor would never give him his liberty, unleſs he made a reſignation of the dutchy of Burgundy. In fine, he managed both thoſe princes ſo ſucceſsfully, that he brought them to agree to a treaty of peace. Francis I. perſuaded that he could not alienate the demeſne of his crown, and that conditions extorted during a ſevere captivity

* Boſio, l. 3. p. 141.

captivity were never valid, made a ſecret proteſt againſt the violence offered him by his vaſſal, and ſigned every thing they preſented to him. 'Twas agreed, that the king ſhould be conducted back into his kingdom on the tenth of February, and that for a ſure guaranty of the treaty, he ſhould give the two princes his ſons in hoſtage; and alſo ſeveral other articles which are foreign to this work. The grand maſter, who was ever vigilant to promote the intereſts of religion, got an article inſerted in it, which was, that the emperor, and king of France, ſhould join in ſoliciting the pope to ſet on foot a cruſade againſt the infidels, and ſhould themſelves contribute to it to the utmoſt of their power.

AFTER the treaty was ſigned, the emperor and the king had ſeveral interviews; but their viſits were like thoſe of reconciled enemies, and were made with more politeneſs than ſincerity. 1526. The firſt time that the emperor went to ſee the king, he would needs take the grand maſter, whom he called his father, along with him. We meet with a remarkable circumſtance, viz. that thoſe two great princes being out together, the emperor, as they were to paſs through a door, offered the king the precedence, which that prince refuſed; whereupon they called the grand maſter to decide it. "I pray God, "ſaid the venerable old man, that there may never be "any difference of greater conſequence between your "Majeſties:" and then directing his diſcourſe to the king of France, "No body," ſays he to him, Sir, diſ"putes but that the emperor is the firſt prince in Chriſ"tendom; but as you are in his dominions, and in his "palace, you ought not, in my opinion, decline the "honours which he thinks himſelf obliged to ſhew to "the greateſt monarch in Europe." This anſwer, which was as ſubtle as it was judicious, ſatisfied both parties; the emperor eſpecially was exceedingly pleaſed with it: He honoured him afterwards with ſeveral marks of diſtinction, and whenever he was giving audiences from his throne, he would make the grand maſter

[a] Boſio, t. 3. l. 3. n. 42.

maſter ſit under the ſame canopy with himſelf. In fine, when the grand maſter, after the king's departure, took leave of him to return into Italy to Viterbo, he made him freſh promiſes of the iſland of Malta, and likeways aſſured him, that he would leave that affair to the pope, who ſhould be arbitrator of the conditions and terms of the feofment.

BUT before the grand maſter left Spain, he, by his prudence, put an end to a diſpute that was riſen in Portugal, relating to the great priory of Crato. Since the loſs of Rhodes, and retreat of the convent to Viterbo, ſeveral European princes, not well affected to the order, and under pretence that it did not ſend any more ſquadrons out, as its inſtitution required, againſt the infidels, ſeized on the revenues of the commanderies; or elſe, in violation of the ſtatutes of the order, and the rights of ſeniority, diſpoſed of them in favour of ſuch knights as were moſt agreeable to them. The priory of Crato falling vacant by the death of John de Meneſes, the king of Portugal, in prejudice of the chevalier Gonſalvo de Piementel, beſtowed it upon prince Lewis his brother; and to make Piementel ſome amends, offered him a yearly penſion of 9000 livres. The Portuguese knights, unwilling to bear with ſuch an infringement of their rights, refuſed to own Don Lewis; the king, incenſed at their oppoſition, threatened to ſeize all the eſtates belonging to the order within his dominions; and, pretending that they ſtaid at Viterbo in a ſtate of inactivity, contrary to what their ſtatutes obliged them to, he declared that he would employ the revenues in a holy war againſt the moors of Barbary.

THE grand maſter judiciouſly ſuppoſing, that ſuch a procedure, though very unjuſt, might yet be a dangerous precedent with reſpect to other princes, made up the affair. He thought that it was beſt, at ſuch an unhappy juncture, to diſſemble an injuſtice which he had not the power to redreſs: He conſented that Don Lewis ſhould keep the adminiſtration of the priory, by way of commendam; but he, in exchange, obtained of the

* Boſio, t. 3. l. 3. p. 42.

the king an authentic confirmation of all the rights and privileges of his order. That prince engaged ſolemnly that he would never trouble the knights again in the enjoyment of the commanderies, which ſhould fall to every one according to his rank of ſeniority. And as the enterprize of Rhodes was the only end and view in which all the grand maſter's deſigns centered, it was ſtipulated in the ſame treaty, that, for carrying on that holy war, the king ſhould furniſh the order with fifteen thouſand cruſadòs, a ſort of ſilver money, worth at that time about four livres and an half.

SCARCE was the grand maſter returned into France, when news came that Henry VIII. king of England, on the very ſame pretence that the king of Portugal had made uſe of, and as if the order had been entirely extirpated by the loſs of Rhodes, had prevented the commander Weſton from taking poſſeſſion of the grand priory of that kingdom; and even pretended to unite the revenues of all the commanderies to the crown, or oblige all the Engliſh knights to ſerve as a garriſon to Calais. Theſe odious pretenſions were a ſenſible affliction to the grand maſter; he ſaw, with grief, that the eſtates of his order, notwithſtanding his indefatigable endeavours to the contrary, were going inſenſibly to be made a prey to princes and their courtiers. The popes, under colour of being its ſovereigns, had ſome time before aſſumed to themſelves the power of nominating to the grand priory of Rome, and to the commanderies that fell vacant within the patrimony of St. Peter, and their other territories: and, on the other ſide, the emperor's miniſters in Italy ſeized on the richeſt benefices, without any manner of ſcruple; and fancied they did a favour to the order, by putting on its croſs, as a mark that they enjoyed them only by virtue of the title of knights. In this general pillage and deſolation, the grand maſter applied himſelf to the king of France, the only prince of Chriſtendom, as we may ſay, who, amidſt all the misfortunes that had happened to the order of St. John, treated it with

the ſame eſteem and affection with which he had always diſtinguiſhed it.

THE grand maſter, when he ſent the prior of St. Giles, and the commander de Bourbon, obliged them to take the French court in their way. Theſe deputies, or, if you pleaſe, embaſſadors, beſought that prince, in his name, to employ his intereſt with Henry VIII. in behalf of the order. Accordingly the king wrote to him about it in the moſt preſſing terms, and obſerved, in his letter, that the reaſon why the order had not, ſince the loſs of Rhodes, been able to continue making war upon the infidels, was only for want of ports to fit out their ſhips; that they were actually treating for the iſle of Malta, and he intreated him, in the moſt preſſing terms, to contribute to their ſettlement in that place: that as ſoon as the head convent and place of arms for the order ſhould be fixed there, the knights would immediately be out at ſea according to their profeſſion; and that the Engliſh merchants, his ſubjects, might perhaps be the firſt who would experience how uſeful that military body was to all Chriſtendom in general, tho' independent on any particular Chriſtian prince.

But theſe conſiderations, which were ſo very reaſonable in themſelves, and all the offices of that great prince, had little influence on the king of England: he had no manner of regard to the memorials which the two embaſſadors preſented to him; nay, he proceeded further, and forbad them to carry either money or effects, ariſing from the eſtates of the order, out of his dominions; and diſmiſſed the envoys pretty abruptly, without any great regard to their character. Theſe miniſters, upon their return, giving the grand maſter an account of the ill ſucceſs of their negotiation, told him, they fancied they had diſcovered the true ſource of this ſhameful injuſtice, and that it aroſe from the reſentment of that prince, the proudeſt monarch of his age, who was offended that the grand maſter had viſited the emperor, and the king of France, without paying him the ſame complement; nor was this conjecture altogether groundleſs. Though the dominions

ons of Henry VIII. were not ſo large as thoſe of Charles V. and Francis I. he was not leſs formidable to thoſe two princes upon that account, whoſe power he balanced by turns, always falling in with that party, which his intereſt led him to take in their diſputes. This ſubtle conduct was the reaſon of his being courted by both thoſe princes, who were very careful to treat him with great reſpect. The important part he acted in the affairs of Europe, the abſolute authority he had acquired in his own dominions, though the laws are more reſpected there than the ſovereign, and his skill in always bringing the parliaments into his meaſures; all this, I ſay, made him conſider himſelf, and expect to be conſidered by others, as the arbiter of Chriſtendom. The grand maſter could hardly at firſt perſuade himſelf, that the omiſſion of a formality, and of a ceremony which he was not obliged to, could poſſibly raiſe that prince's reſentment, and put him upon treating the order in ſo harſh a manner. But, after all, as the moſt powerful princes, eſpecially ſuch as reign with deſpotic ſway, are bred up in flattery, and ſeldom breathe any air, but what is ſwelled with pride and vanity, the grand maſter thought he ſhould come off at an eaſy rate enough, provided he could but get, by ſo ſlight a condeſcenſion, the eſtates of his order reſtored. The venerable old man therefore, without regarding either his age, or the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, ſet out for England, ſending the commander Boſio before, the ableſt negotiator at that time in the order, and perhaps in all Chriſtendom. The commander applied himſelf firſt to Cardinal Wolſey, the king of England's firſt miniſter, to whom he delivered a letter from the grand maſter, intreating him to preſent Boſio to the king, and uſe his credit with that prince to promote the intereſts of the order. The cardinal procured him an audience; Boſio preſented the grand maſter's letter to Henry VIII. telling him, at the ſame time, that he was coming on purpoſe from Italy to pay his reſpects to him, but thought it his du-

ty not to enter his dominions, without firſt knowing whether it would be agreeable to him.

1524. Jan. 1. Henry, pacified by this ſtep, anſwered, that he had the utmoſt veneration for the grand maſter's perſon; that he ſhould be delighted to ſee ſo great a captain, but that he was ſorry he had ſet out in ſo ſharp a ſeaſon; that however, he ſhould at all times be received in his dominions with all the reſpect that was due to his dignity and merit. The king ſent Boſio back to the grand maſter, whom he found at the court of France, and delivered him two letters, one from the king, the other from his miniſter, dated Feb. 25th. both of them in very obliging terms, and inviting him to come as ſoon as poſſible into England. He immediately went thither, and after having reſted himſelf for ſome days in the commandery or priory of St. John, he ſet out for the court, attended by the great croſſes, commanders, and knights of England and Scotland, who were come from different places to wait upon him.

THIS retinue was numerous and magnificent, and to make its ſplendor ſtill greater, the king ſent ſome of the moſt conſiderable lords of his court a great way before to meet him on the way. With this noble convoy he was introduced into the palace: Henry gave him a very gracious reception, and the ſpectators obſerved that he beheld him with an earneſtneſs and attention, which the ſight of a prince, whoſe valour and conduct had made him equally famous in Europe and Aſia, may naturally inſpire. The grand maſter paid him all the civilities which he thought due to ſo powerful a monarch, but did not think it proper to enter into any detail of the affairs which had brought him into England; he went no further than to deſire of that prince in general terms his protection for the order. All that the king ſaid, conſiſted only in elogiums on the defence of Rhodes, which, he ſaid, was more glorious than the conqueſt of an entire province; and when the grand maſter was for withdrawing, the king ordered his officers to lodge him in his palace, where he

he was ſerved with a magnificence ſuitable to his rank, and the eſteem the king had for ſo illuſtrious a gueſt.

THEY afterwards had ſeveral private conferences together, concerning the ſiege of Rhodes, and a proper place for fixing the convent. The grand maſter declared to him, that, notwithſtanding the formidable power of Solyman, the order would have been ſtill miſtreſs of Rhodes, had the Chriſtian princes vouchſafed to ſend the leaſt ſuccour thither. He continued to relate how, being in want of proviſions and ammunition, particularly of powder, and after having ſeen the greateſt part of his knights, and alſo of the inhabitants, fall in the defence of the place, and that the Turks had puſhed their works to the very middle of the city, he had found himſelf reduced to the laſt extremity, and was forced to abandon them the little ground that was left him; how he had embarked with the poor remains of his fortune, and had been attacked with terrible ſtorms in his voyage; how, thinking to find a place of refuge in the port of Meſſina, he had been driven thence by the plague; how pope Clemen. had allowed him to retire to Viterbo, till he might meet with a fixed and ſecure place for his reſidence; how the plague had driven them thence a ſecond time; how part of the knights of the convent had been received in the town of Nice, by the duke of Savoy's conſent, and the veſſels and gallies of the order put into the port of Villa-Franca; how the reſt of the knights were, by his permiſſion, diſperſed over the ſeveral provinces of Chriſtendom, where the order had any commanderies; how the plague being abated at Viterbo, they had aſſembled there again, under the protection of the holy ſee; and how, in this uncertain and deplorable ſituation, the emperor made him a generous offer of the iſlands of Malta and Goza; but that his miniſters were clogging this donation with conditions that were incompatible with the independence ſo neceſſary to be preſerved in his order; for the knights could not own any one particular prince for their ſovereign, without rendering themſelves ſuſpected to the reſt. He more-

over added, that he had not loſt all hopes of recovering Rhodes; that a party was actually formed there for driving out the Turks; that the principal inhabitants of the iſland, as well as ſome officers of the garriſon, were engaged in the conſpiracy; that the order wanted nothing to make the attempt, but the neceſſary funds for levying troops, and fitting out the ſhips of the order; that in caſe the project ſhould not ſucceed, he would accept of Malta, and that he hoped the emperor's generoſity would extend ſo far, as not to inſiſt upon a ſubjection from the order, which would give a fatal ſtroke to their liberty, and that ſpirit of neutrality which the knights profeſſed.

THE king of England thought the deſign of re-conquering Rhodes, was a project highly worthy of the grand maſter's courage and valour; and he, in order to have ſome ſhare in ſo noble an enterprize, promiſed him 20,000 crowns, the value of which he paid afterwards in artillery and fire arms. They no longer talked of ſeizing or ſequeſtring the eſtates of the order, much leſs of diſpoſing of the priories and commanderies; all that the king deſired of the grand maſter was, to confer the grand priory of Ireland upon the Turcopilier brother, John Ranſon by name, who had been very ſerviceable to that prince in the government of that iſland, whoſe gentle adminiſtration had been very inſtrumental in poliſhing and civilizing its inhabitants, who were at that time not many degrees above ſavages.

THE grand maſter, in order to ſhew his complaiſance to a king, with whom the order was ſo much obliged, for intereſt ſake, to keep due meaſures, engaged the chevalier Babington to reſign the priory of Ireland to Ranſon, who, by way of exchange, made a reſignation to him of the commandery of Dinemor, and the dignity of Turcopilier. The grand maſter brought them likeways to a further agreement, viz. that if Babington ſhould come to be grand prior of England, he ſhould be obliged to pay Ranſon a penſion of 1800 livres. The king ſeemed extremely pleaſed at the grand maſter's

maſter's readineſs and exactneſs in executing what he had required of him: he returned him thanks for it, confirmed all the privileges of his order, and when that prince took leave of him, to return into Italy, he ſent him, in his own and the queen's name, a baſon and cup of maſſy gold, ſet with precious ſtones, which the grand maſter afterwards lodged in the treaſury of the order.

THE grand maſter returned into Italy with the ſatisfaction of having maintained the rights and privileges of his order in France, Spain, Portugal, and England; and in hopes of getting from the reſpective ſovereigns of thoſe countries, particularly from the pope, a body of troops ſufficient to carry his point in the enterpriſe of Rhodes. But whilſt the illuſtrious old man was paſſing through the principal courts of Europe, various revolutions happened at Rome, which would not allow him to depend any longer on the ſuccours which the pope had promiſed him. We have before obſerved that Clement, in order to balance the power of Charles V. who was grown formidable ſince his gaining the battle of Pavia, had made a league with the kings of France and England, the Venetians, Sforza duke of Milan, and the Florentines, for the ſecurity and liberty of Italy. They called it *the holy league*, becauſe the pope was at the head of it. That pontiff, like moſt of his predeceſſors, was afraid of nothing ſo much as of the re-eſtabliſhment of the imperial authority in Italy. But the exploits of this league, through the different intereſts of the allies, were noways anſwerable to the ardor with which it was formed.

THE emperor, by the aſſiſtance of the Colonna's, his partiſans, raiſed a civil war in the pope's territories; and that pontiff, who was afraid of the expence which it would neceſſarily put him to, ſuffering himſelf to be amuſed by a treaty which he made with the emperor's miniſters and the Colonna's, disbanded the troops which he had in Romagna. His enemies ſeeing him diſarmed, not having the leaſt regard to their faith, or the treaty they had juſt ſigned, entered Rome in an

hoſtile

hoſtile manner. Cardinal Pompeio Collonna, the moſt invetetrate of all the pope's enemies, was at the head of the rebels: ſome have pretended that his deſign was againſt the pontiff's life, [a] flattering himſelf that, by his death, and by force of arms, he ſhould get himſelf placed in the pontifical chair. The pope had only juſt time enough to fly to the caſtle of St.

1526. Angelo: but as there were not proviſions within the place ſufficient to hold out for any conſiderable time, he was forced to ſubmit to his enemies terms. They obliged him to ſign a truce for four months with the emperor, to pardon the Colonna's, and to give hoſtages for the performance of his promiſe. But he was no ſlave to it; and, as ſoon as he had received a ſupply from the king of England, he took up arms again: he broke the truce, under pretence that they had made him ſign it, with a dagger as it were at his throat; and that the Colonna's in particular, who were vaſſals of the holy ſee, would not oblige their ſovereign to capitulate. To revenge the inſult which they had offered him, he began to ſhew his reſentment by a ſolemn deprivation of Pompeio Colonna from the dignity of cardinal, and cauſed likewiſe the troops, which he had juſt levied for his ſecurity, to march againſt the lords of that family. Vitelli his general ravaged their lands, plundered the towns and caſtles belonging to that houſe, demoliſhed their walls, and left the moſt dreadful marks of their maſter's reſentment wherever they came.

All Italy was a prey to the ſeveral armies of the emperor and the confederates: 'twould be impoſſible to deſcribe the plunderings, the violences, and the inhumanities, which ſuch a multitude of ſoldiers, of different nations, exerciſed in thoſe provinces, where each party was the ſtrongeſt. The ſoldiers frequently had nothing but liceatiouſneſs and impunity for their pay; and the generals did not ſo much conſult the orders they received from their reſpective ſovereigns, as they did

[a] Guicciardin. l. 17.

did the ſeveral methods of procuring ſubſiſtence for their troops.

THE conſtable of Bourbon, a prince of the blood of France, who, enraged at finding himſelf perſecuted by the mother of Francis I. had gone over to the emperor's party, not being in a condition to pay the body of troops which he commanded; he, in order to put a ſtop to the clamours of his ſoldiers, promiſed them the plunder of one of the richeſt cities in Italy, without naming any further declaration of the enteprize he had in view. We have heard but of few generals who, like him, gain'd the entire confidence, and an abſolute authority over their ſoldiers, without having any money to pay them with; but a certain air of grandeur, which flows from an illuſtrious birth, and which never fails to command reſpect; his ſurprizing valour; his skill in the art of war; and his eaſy and familiar behaviour, which yet was never derogatory to his dignity, had gained him the affection of his ſoldiers, who loved him even to adoration: ſo that they all ſwore, ſays Brantome, to follow him wherever he ſhould lead the way, *tho' it were to the devil.*

THE march of this army, which advanced with great diligence towards Tuſcany, terrified the pope, and he relapſed into his uſual uncertainties. The emperor's miniſters made their advantage of it, and endeavoured to perſuade him that he would find no ſolid advantages, nor indeed any kind of ſecurity, but in a ſtrict alliance with their maſter.

CLEMENT, though he had been already tricked by thoſe very miniſters, as was juſt now ſeen, was nevertheleſs very fond of believing them, and glad to diſburthen his mind of thoſe irreſolutions which ſhewed him the danger he was in, without ſhewing
March 15. him, at the ſame time, how he ſhould prevent it; he ſigned a new truce. Lanuoy, Viceroy of Naples, whom he treated with, aſſured him that he had no occaſion to be under any further apprehenſions from Bourbon and the reſt of the emperor's generals. He flattered himſelf with this hope, and looked upon this treaty

treaty as an invincible barrier, which the imperial troops could never break through, in order to fall upon the lands of the church. But Bourbon, whether in concert with Lannoy, or contrary to the sen-
1527. timents of that minister, is uncertain, continu-
May 7. ed his march, and appeared soon at the gates of Rome. He began by a scalado, and as he himself was clapping a ladder to the wall, he was shot by a musket-ball, and died two hours after. His soldiers, enraged at the death of their general, forced the defendants to quit the wall, threw themselves into the city sword in hand, and killed all that came in their way. They then dispersed themselves into the several quarters of it, broke into the houses, and without regarding either dignity, age or sex, they committed such cruelties and outrages as the most barbarous nations could hardly have been thought to perpetrate. What is still more deplorable, is, that this dreadful scene lasted not only twenty four hours, as usually happens to places taken by storm, but the imperialists daily repeated the same violences for upwards of two months afterwards, and did not stick to commit sacrilege, rapes, nor murders in cold blood, in order to gratify their avarice and sensuality.

THE pope with thirteen cardinals took refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, but was soon invested; he held out however a month with the troops he had, but afterwards provisions failing
1527. him, he was obliged to capitulate a second
Octob. 30. time with his enemies.

THE conditions of this new treaty would have been scandalous, had they not been necessary: the imperialists insisted that he should engage to pay the sum of 400,000 ducats, in order to pay the army; requiring moreover, that he should continue a prisoner, till he had paid the third part of the sum; that he should afterwards be carried to the castle of Naples, to wait till the emperor's pleasure was known, with relation to the disposing of his person; and that he should deliver up the castles of St. Angelo, Ostia, Civita Vecchia,

Castelano,

Caſtelana, and the towns of Parma, Placencia and Modena.

CHARLES V. was greatly delighted to ſee one of his greateſt enemies fall a ſecond time into his hands; but he, far from diſcovering any thing that might betray the real ſentiments of his mind, did, from a regard to religion, conceal them under the ſpecious appearances of a ſenſible affliction: ſo that at the firſt news he had of the pope's impriſonment, he, as if he had been taken captive by the Turks or Corſairs, put on mourning in a public manner, and ordered ſolemn proceſſions to be made over all Spain, to pray to God for his liberty: an affectation which he carried to too great lengths, and which impoſed on nobody, even among his own ſubjects, unleſs it were the common people.

WHILST this comedy was acting in Spain, in a manner ſo unbecoming the character of a great emperor, he, for fear his priſoner ſhould make his eſcape, ſent orders to Rome, to have him put under the guard of an old Spaniſh officer, Alarçon by name, who had been entruſted with that of Francis I. at Madrid. This officer behaved himſelf in as ſurly a manner towards the pope, as he had done towards the king of France; and carried himſelf towards a priſoner of his conſequence, not like a ſoldier or an officer, but rather like a goaler of criminals, or a commander of gally-ſlaves. But what gave the pontiff ſtill more concern than the plundering of Rome; and his impriſonment, was the news he heard, that the Florentines, upon the firſt account of what paſſed at Rome, had juſt before drove all the houſe of Medicis, not only out of the city, but alſo out of the whole ſtate of Florence, under pretence that it had too unlimited a power and authority in that place.

NAY, to ſuch lengths did the ſpirit of party proceed, as to tear down the arms of this family, in all places where they had been ſet up: all which was done at the inſtigation of the emperor's miniſters. The pope alſo was afraid leſt his goaler ſhould have had private orders to diſpatch him; but we muſt do him juſtice to ſay, that

that he was not capable of committing ſo great a crime, and that though he kept the pope very cloſely ſhut up, without allowing him the leaſt indulgence in his impriſonment, yet that this was no more than the reſult of his own rough and diſtruſtful temper. An hiſtorian has indeed told us, that cardinal Colonna preſſed him ſeveral times to make away with the pontiff: that cardinal, who was all on fire for revenge, had alſo another motive for it, by hoping to make that act of vengeance a ſtep towards his own promotion. But whether this officer might have been juſtly ſhock'd at the dreadful villany of the propoſal, or that he was afraid, that by the pope's death he ſhould loſe his part of his ranſom; be that, I ſay, as it will, 'tis certain that he always rejected that bloody cardinal's infamous ſolicitations with an invincible conſtancy and reſolution, and that all the time the pope remained in his cuſtody, he was as careful of preſerving his life, as he was to prevent his making an eſcape.

THE grand maſter, who was the pope's particular friend, and had both a great affection for his perſon, and the warmeſt for his intereſt, was ſenſibly concerned at his misfortunes: Moreover the open enmity between him and the emperor, his impriſonment, the breaking out of the war in all the provinces of Italy, the ſhare that moſt of the ſovereigns of Europe had in it, the leagues and treaties which were negotiating at the ſame time on all ſides, ſcarce left the knights of St. John any room to hope that the emperor would, in the hurry of theſe affairs and the tumults of war, ſuffer the affair of Malta to come upon the carpet; or particularly, that a prince of his ambition, and inſatiably thirſting after dominion, could be prevailed with to give up any thing of that kind of vaſſalſhip which he was for annexing to the feoſment of the iſland. The greateſt part of the knights, eſpecially the French, for fear of falling under the power of Charles V. ſhewed as much averſion for Malta as the Spaniards did eagerneſs for their ſettling there. The grand maſter juſtly conſidered that no body was able but the pope, by his good offices, to obtain a pure and abſolute grant of it from the emperor

emperor; but then, ſo long as that pontiff ſhould be at variance with the emperor, he either would not intermeddle with it at all, or if he did, it would be to no manner of purpoſe. 'Twas reſolved therefore in the council of the order, to wait and ſee what time might produce in their favour, in what manner the affairs of Europe would clear up, what fate would attend the pope, and what reſolution would be proper for them finally to take with reſpect to Rhodes or Malta.

Not to mention the great diſparity there was between theſe two iſlands with reſpect to largeneſs, the extent of their dominion, and intrinſic riches, the grand maſter, uneaſy at being a melancholy witneſs of the continual wars that raged between the Chriſtian princes, wiſhed himſelf far removed into the fartheſt parts of Aſia, and his heart was entirely fixed upon the affair of Rhodes; nor was it long before he had news of it.

EUTIMIUS the Greek metropolitan of the Iſland, the *primum mobile* of the enterprize, was as uneaſy as any head of a party could poſſibly be, at the dilatorineſs of the affair; and fearing to be diſcovered, had ſent expreſs after expreſs to the grand maſter, in order to procure intelligence, and haſten the execution of it. The grand maſter wrote back to him, that the order not being able of itſelf to defray the expence of ſo great an armament as was neceſſary for ſuch an attempt, he himſelf had been obliged to go into France, Spain and England to ſollicit ſuccours; that they were actually fitting out the two great carracks of the order; that they had likewiſe three gallies upon the ſtocks; that France had ſupplied him with galley-ſlaves, and England with cannon and artillery; that he was obliged to be preſent at a general chapter of his order which he had called at Viterbo, but that he hoped to be ſoon able to appear before Rhodes with a fleet and body of troops ſtrong enough to drive out the infidels. He ſent this letter by the commander Boſio, embaſſador and negotiator general of all the affairs of the order, and ordered him to go a ſecond time into the eaſt, to learn the diſpoſition of the people, and alſo to take, in con-

cert with the principal inhabitants of the iſland, the laſt meaſures for the execution of that important project. The continual wars that infeſted all Europe prevented the knights that lay at the greateſt diſtance from Italy, from coming to the chapter. The grand maſter opened it with a diſcourſe which was equally ſolemn and pathetick. He put the aſſembly in mind of the loſs of Rhodes, and took notice of the diſpoſition of moſt of the knights, the ſtorms they had paſſed through, the plague and ſickneſs that had haraſſed the convent, the greedineſs of the ſeculars, to graſp at, and ſeize on the effects of the order; and the fear of worſe evils for the future, if they did not prevent them by a fixed reſidence in ſome ſea-port, by the convenience of which, the knights might again carry on war againſt the infidels, and thereby take away from all thoſe princes, who were ill affected to their body, all manner of pretence to ſeize on their revenues. He next took occaſion to mention his old age the cruiſings and voyages he had made, the long and tedious fatigues and labours that he had undergone, the calamities of the time, and the public miſeries: "Muſt I, cried this great man, ſurvive the loſs "of Rhodes, for no other end than to be a witneſs, "and that at the period of my life, of the ſcattering and "perhaps the utter ruin of an order, whoſe inſtitution "is of ſo ſacred a nature, and whoſe government is "confided to me?" And at laſt, directing his diſcourſe to all the knights, he beſought them in the moſt preſſing terms, in the name of their predeceſſors, the founders of the order, and by the blood which they themſelves and their brethren had ſo lately ſhed in the defence of Rhodes, to put an end to their diviſions, which could not but be very fatal to the order; and to be unanimous in their choice of a port for the future reſidence of the convent.

THIS moving diſcourſe, his hair grown white in war, his perfect diſintereſtedneſs, his unbounded zeal and affection for the preſervation of the order, melted the hearts of the whole aſſembly: and as the affair of Rhodes had been communicated only to two or three

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of the principal of the council, all the voices of the ſeveral nations united for applying to the emperor for a grant of the iſle of Malta, free from all ſubjection, and on condition only of having a ſolemn maſs ſaid every year in memory of that benefaction on the day that the donation ſhould be made, and of ſending a faulcon to the viceroy of Sicily, but without any deputation, and by any meſſenger they ſhould think proper.

UPON this, deputies were immediately diſpatched to the court of Madrid, with orders to treat with the emperor's miniſters on theſe conditions: but they found them much colder and ſtiffer than they had been told they would be. Whatever inclination the emperor had at firſt ſhewed to eſtabliſh the order of St. John in the iſle of Malta, to make uſe of it as as bulwark to ſecure Sicily and the ſea-coaſt of the kingdom of Naples from the incurſions of the infidels; they had ſince filled him with apprehenſions, that as in the preſent juncture, he was at war with France, the grand maſter being a Frenchman born, would receive the fleets of Francis I. and his confederates, into his ports, and favour their enterprizes. Beſides, the emperor had as ſtrong ſuſpicions of the attachment of the knights to the intereſt of the holy ſee. On the other ſide, the principal deputy of the order, who was entruſted with the ſecret of the affair, and who knew that the grand maſter was ſtill in hopes of recovering Rhodes, was not very preſſing in the negotiation; ſo that by the different views of thoſe that managed it, it was ſpun out a great while longer, and every body ſaw plainly, that this great affair would not be adjuſted till ſuch time as a general peace ſhould be concluded, or at leaſt till the pope ſhould have recovered his liberty, and made a pretended or real reconciliation with the emperor.

THIS however was thought as yet to be at a very great diſtance; but the French army commanded by the marſhal de Lautrec, which was advancing towards Rome, haſtened the concluſion of it. This army conſiſted of 26000 foot, and 1000 men of arms, without

including the light horſe. On the other ſide, there was at Rome no more than the dregs of the Spaniſh and German troops that had ſacked that great city: the plunder and booty which the ſoldiers had got there made a great number of them deſert; nor had they loſt a leſs number by exceſſive drinking, debauchery, and the contagious diſtempers, which infecting various quarters of Italy at that time, compleated the ruin of this army.

THE emperor therefore, ſeeing that he could not hinder the French from ſetting the pope at liberty, was deſirous of having the honour of doing it himſelf. But as his intereſt was far ſuperior to any private views of generoſity, he ordered his miniſters in their treating with him about it, to get all the advantages from him that they could. Hugo de Moncada, who was pitched upon for this negotiation, told him, that he had orders from the emperor to ſet him at liberty; and to give him ſome little earneſt of it, his confinement was leſs ſtrict. The firſt thing he inſiſted on, was, that he ſhould diſengage himſelf from the league, and act, as became him, the part of the common father of all Chriſtians. There was little difficulty on this article: the pope, who was not very ſcrupulous as to his word, would, to extricate himſelf out of thoſe difficulties under which he laboured, have ſigned new treaties every day of his life. But they likewiſe demanded Hypolito and Aleſſandro de Medicis as hoſtages, by way of ſurety for his execution of the treaty. The imperial miniſter went further, and declared, that it was impoſſible for him to compleat his liberty, tho' his maſter was ſo very much deſirous of it, till he had paid down the 400,000 ducats ſtipulated in the former treaty; and that without this previous condition he was afraid leaſt the emperor's ſoldiers, who were moſt of them Lutherans, and a ſet of ungovernable fellows, ſhould make an attempt on his holineſs's perſon.

THAT pontiff underſtood his meaning very well; but he was more afraid of Moncada himſelf, than of his ſoldiers. He therefore, in order to get as ſoon as poſ-

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ſible out of their hands, promiſed to pay 95000 ducats down, to give the like ſum a fortnight after his leaving Rome, and the reſt in three months afterwards. Guicciardin tells us, that he, in order to raiſe this ſum, was forced, before he went out of the Caſtle of St. Angelo, to alienate the goods of the church; to ſell, as it were by auction, three cardinals hats to perſons unworthy of ſuch an honour; and all this, ſays the hiſtorian[a], in order to furniſh pay to hereticks, at the expence and with the conſent of the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, who was likewiſe oblig'd to give not only his nephews as hoſtages, but alſo ſeveral cardinals who were the moſt devoted to him, as a pledge for the performance of his promiſe.

DECEMBER the ninth was the day fixed for ſetting him at liberty; but as there was ſtill, notwithſtanding all their treaties, a mutual diffidence on both ſides, the pope fearing leſt Moncada ſhould not be ſo good as his word, took his opportunity, whilſt he was more negligently guarded, and got the night before out of the caſtle, diſguis'd like a merchant; and mounting on a Spaniſh horſe, made the beſt of his way to the caſtle of Orvieto, where he choſe to retreat.

THE pope, entirely perſuaded that his liberty was altogether owing to the weakneſs of the emperor's troops, and the approach of the French army, wrote a very obliging letter on that ſubject to the marſhal de Lautrec[b]: and as if he had fully anſwered his firſt engagements by that ſlight complement, obſerved a kind of neutrality ever afterwards; which it were to have been wiſhed, for the edification of the church, he had never departed from. The war however between the emperor and confederates laſted near two years more with various ſucceſs; but with the ſame fury and animoſity.

DURING that interval, the commander Boſio, who (as we have obſerved) had been ſent by the grand maſter to Rhodes, returned thence with very ill news. The grand maſter's project had been communicated to

[a] Guicciardin. l. 18. [b] Id. ibid.

too many perſons, and the execution of it delayed too long, to be ſtill kept a ſecret. The Turks had ſome ſuſpicion of it; the grand ſeignior immediately changed the garriſon, and put ſeveral Chriſtians of the Greek religion to death, and alſo ſome Mahometans; and 'twas with infinite difficulties, and through a thouſand dangers, that the commander Boſio found means to eſcape the ſtrict ſearch which had been made by order of the governor of Rhodes. As a conſolation for this ill ſucceſs, that knight, who had a very penetrating genius ever fruitful of new reſources, propoſed to the grand maſter a project for ſeizing on the town of Modon, and making it the ſeat and reſidence of the order.

THIS city, which is ſituated in the Morea, fell into the hands of the Venetians A. D. 1124*. Bajazet the ſecond took it in 1498. A Rhodian named Lomelino Del-Campo, who after the loſs of Rhodes had retired to Meſſina, ſhewed Boſio in his paſſage to that iſland, that it would be a matter of no great difficulty for the order to take Modon by the aſſiſtance of two Turks, originally Chriſtians, and Greeks by birth, with whom he kept a conſtant correſpondence relating to commerce, and who had confided to him their remorſe for having renounced the faith, and their ſincere deſire of returning into the boſom of the church, as ſoon as a favourable occaſion ſhould offer itſelf; that one of theſe renegadoes, Calojan by name, had the command of the port; and that the other, whoſe name was Scandali, was, by his poſt of ſupreme director of the cuſtoms, maſter of the gate of the mole; and that they would both of them be glad to favour an enterprize, that ſhould put ſo important a place into the hands of the Chriſtians. Boſio, who was ever warm and enterpriſing in thoſe things in which the intereſts of his order were concerned, was reſolved to go and view the place in perſon; and diſcourſe, if poſſible, with the two Turks. With this deſign he got letters from Lomelino for them both, and as he paſſed near the iſland of Sapienza, which lies off the ſouthern coaſt of Morea, over

* Boſio, t. 3. l. 5. & 6.

over againſt Modon, he put into a bay, where he lay ſnug, and ſent a Rhodian that attended him, named Steti Marquet, in a fiſherman's bark, to Modon, to deliver the letters to the two Turks. They both came on board him in the night; he found them thoroughly penitent for their fault, and reſolved to atone for it, tho' at the expence of their lives. The commander confirmed them in this noble reſolution, and after having conferred together about the ſeveral methods of putting their project in execution, the reſult of it was, that they, by the help of this intelligence, ſhould conceal a certain number of knights in ſome merchant veſſels; that part of thoſe knights ſhould in the night be let into the tower which commanded the port, and that the reſt ſhould ſeize on the gate of the mole; that thereupon a canpon-ſhot ſhould be fired for a ſignal, and that the Chriſtian fleet, which was to lie concealed behind the iſland of Sapienza, ſhould advance, and land the troops on board it; which ſhould afterwards enter by the gate of the mole, throw themſelves into the place, and carry it.

Bosio finding this enterprize might be very eaſily effected, highly commended the two renegadoes; exhorted them to perſevere with conſtancy and reſolution in the deſign with which heaven had inſpired them for their ſalvation; moreover, promiſing them great rewards, if they ſhould contribute to the conqueſt of Modon. He, after this, kept on his voyage, and at his return into Italy gave the grand maſter an account of this new negotiation; repreſented to him that Modon was ſituated in a fruitful and plentiful country, where they might extend their conqueſt, if the enterpriſe ſhould meet with ſucceſs; that there was no riſing ground near enough the place that might command it; that it was ſurrounded by the ſea on two ſides, and was divided from the main land by a ditch, which they might make broader if they thought proper; that the port was ſpacious and ſecure, by means of a great mole, and ſeveral rocks that defended the entrance of it; and that as the iſland of Sapienza lay off it, they might

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build a citadel in that place, which might ſerve as an advanced fortification to the town of Modon.

THE grand maſter did not reject the propoſal; but being a man of ſolid judgment, and ſeeing that the affair of Rhodes had abſolutely miſcarried, he preferred a certain ſettlement at Malta, before the uncertain hopes of the conqueſt of Modon. However, as he ſaw no great difficulty in this laſt project, he put off the execution of it, till after he had taken poſſeſſion of the iſles of Malta and Goza; and he ſent Boſio to the pope, to ſolicit him, in his and the order's name, to uſe his mediation in the treaty propoſed about Malta, and employ his credit to get the rigour of the conditions moderated.

THE pope being kept away from Rome, bare of money, and diſheartened by the misfortunes of the war, was then endeavouring to repair his loſſes by a new treaty with the emperor; and that prince, if he could have depended on his word, would not have been averſe to it: nay, he would have been glad of a public reconciliation, to blot out from the minds of Chriſtians the ſcandal which he had given, by the imprisonment of that pontiff, and the horrible ſacking of the city of Rome.

THERE was but one conſideration only, that could affect Clement's heart, and that was the reſtoring of his family in Florence. Charles V. plied him on that ſide: he offered him Margaret of Auſtria,[a] his natural daughter, for Alexander de Medicis, that pontiff's great nephew, or, as others ſay, his ſon.[b] The managers of the negotiation ſaid further, that the emperor would engage himſelf to make him ſovereign of the city and ſtate of Florence, and that he ſhould, after the ceremony of his coronation, and before the year 1530 was expired, ſee a mighty army before Florence, under the command of his moſt able generals, in order to oblige them to take the oaths of allegiance to young Alexander, his nephew.

[a] Guicciardin. l. 19.

[b] Paulo Jovio, l. 27.

nephew. Theſe advantageous propoſals, ſuch, indeed, as the pope could never have expected, tho' the league had been victorious, made him forget his own diſaſters, and the emperor's inſults; and in order to contribute to a conqueſt of ſuch importance to him, he thereupon engaged to maintain 8000 men, for this enterpriſe, at his own expence. He promiſed, at the ſame time, to give the emperor the inveſtiture of the kingdom of Naples, without any other annual acknowledgment but a white genet; and agreed with the emperor's agents to be at Bologna the next January at fartheſt, in order to perform the ceremony of that prince's coronation. This treaty was ſigned June 29th 1529. The Ducheſs Louiſa of Savoy, the king's mother, and Margaret of Auſtria, the emperor's aunt, governeſs of the low countries, ſigned likeways another at Cambray, in the king's and emperor's names, to which they gave the name of the Ladies treaty.

SUCH was the ſituation of affairs in Europe, when Boſio arrived at the pope's court: and though the affair of Rhodes had not ſucceeded, the pontiff was yet ſo well ſatisfied with the manner in which he gave him an account of his negotiation, and of that which he had begun at Modon, that, as he himſelf was very skilful at negotiations; or, to ſpeak more properly, had a taſte for them, though, at the ſame time, without having any talents or capacity requiſite for that purpoſe, he would needs keep him near his perſon, in quality of his privy chamberlain; and ordered him to write to the grand maſter, to tell him, that he was in hopes of prevailing with the emperor, at their interview at Bologna, to make a grant of the iſle of Malta to the order, with an entire exemption from all the burthenſome conditions which his miniſters were for clogging it with. About the latter end of the year, the emperor went from Spain into Italy, and came to Bologna, where the pope performed the ceremony of his coronation; and in their interview, they adjuſted matters for eſtabliſhing young Medicis as ſovereign in Florence.

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THE pope, seeing this happy prospect for the restoration of his family, recommended the interests of the order of St. John to the emperor in the most pressing terms; the pope having been bred up in it, and considering it, in a manner, as his second family. Though the emperor was not easily caught with solicitations, in which his interest was not concerned, yet, in this juncture of his reconciliation with the pope, it was impossible for him to refuse him any thing: and we may affirm, that the house of Medicis, and the order of St. John, owe their re-establishment to that pontiff. The treaty concerning the knights was signed on March 24th, at Castel-Franco, a little town in the territory of Bologna; by which, the emperor declares, that in consideration of the particular affection which he had always bore to the order, and the important services which it had done for many ages to the Christian world, and to enable it to continue the same against the enemies of the faith, he had given and granted for ever, as well in his own name, as for his heirs and successors, to the most reverend the grand master of the said order, and to the said order of St. John, as a fief-noble, free and franc, the castles, places, and isles of Tripoli, Malta, and Goza, with all their territories and jurisdictions, authority of judging in all pleas whatever, and power of life and death, with all other houses, appurtenances, exemptions, privileges, rents, and other rights and immunities; provided, that, for the future, the grand master and the knights should hold those places of him and his successors in the kingdom of Sicily, as noble, free, and franc-fiefs, without being obliged to any service, or acknowledgment, but that of a falcon every year on All-saints day; and that in the vacancy of the bishoprick of Malta, the grand master, and the convent, should be obliged to present to him and his successors, three learned and pious persons, in order for his making choice of one of them to succeed to that dignity; and that the person so promoted, shall be honoured with the grand cross of the order, and in that quality, should have the privilege of sitting in the council.

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WHEN he had ſigned this deed, the emperor delivered it to the commander Boſio, to carry it to the grand maſter. That zealous miniſter ſet out immediately: but as the coachman, to ſatisfy his impatience, and make the greater haſte, drove very hard, the coach overturned, and the embaſſador was conſiderably hurt. What aggravated the misfortune, was, that an unskilful ſurgeon being ſent for to bleed him, inſtead of opening a vein, ignorantly pricked him in an artery; when the blood extravaſating croſs the fleſh and muſcles of the arm, cauſed a ſwelling, which was ſoon followed by a gangrene that put a period to this excellent man's life. But before he expired, he gave the emperor's packet to a Rhodian gentleman, Statigogulo by name, his intimate friend and companion, to deliver into the grand maſter's hands; and charged him likeways, from him, to urge him to keep up the correſpondence of Modon, from which, he ſaid, he was perſuaded the order would, ſome time or other, reap great advantages. The Rhodian diſcharged his commiſſion with great exactneſs. The grand maſter was ſenſibly afflicted at the news of Boſio's death. However, in order to purſue his ſchemes, he ſent afterwards the ſame Rhodian to Modon, with rich preſents to the two renegadoes. He was ordered to inquire into their character, the diſpoſition they were in, and whether they had not changed their mind; and in caſe he found them reſolved and qualified to go through with the enterpriſe for the ſervice of the order, he was then to draw a plan of the city, and the parts adjacent, that ſo they might be able to concert before hand the order of the attacks.

THIS gentleman landed at Modon, diſguiſed like a Greek merchant, and found the two Turks firm and unſhaken in their reſolution. They ſhewed him the facility of the enterpriſe, by means of the authority which one of them had in the tower of the port, and the other by the keys of the gate of the mole, which were in their diſpoſal. They told him, that the enterprize could not fail of ſucceſs, provided the knights would

would but come with a body of troops, ſufficient to beat the garriſon and the inhabitants. When, after ſeveral conferences, they agreed to put off the execution of the project till the latter end of the next ſummer; in order that, if it ſhould meet with favourable ſucceſs, as they had all the reaſon in the world to hope it would, the news of it might not reach Conſtantinople till autumn; and the Turks, not being able to put to ſea in the winter, the knights might, by that means, have time ſufficient to fortify themſelves in their new conqueſt.

THE grand maſter and council, as ſoon as they had received and examined the deed containing the donation of Malta, diſpatched two of the principal commanders to thank the emperor, in the name of the whole order. They alſo ſent, at the ſame time, an authentic copy of that important inſtrument to the prior Salviati, their embaſſador at Rome, and nephew to the pope, in order that he might obtain a confirmation of it from the ſovereign pontif, who was the firſt ſuperior of the order. Clement, with the greateſt joy imaginable, granted it in a full conſiſtory; and to make this deed ſtill more binding and ſolemn, he cauſed a bull to be drawn up to that purpoſe, and publiſhed April 25th. Not long after this, the grand maſter ſent, as from the order, into Sicily, Hugh de Copones, general of its gallies, and John Boniface bailif of Manoſque, of the language of Provence, in quality of embaſſador, to take an oath of fidelity, in preſence of Hector Pignatelli, duke of Montaleon, and viceroy of Sicily. The embaſſadors acquitted themſelves of this duty in the church of Palermo; when, the ceremonies being performed as uſual in ſuch caſes, he received the deed of inveſtiture, which the viceroy gave up into their hands, in the name of the emperor. This nobleman named afterwards ſix commiſſioners, who went on board the ſame gallies of the order as had brought the embaſſadors to Sicily; after which, they, in concert, went together to Malta, Goza and Tripoli, of which they were put in poſſeſſion by thoſe commiſſioners. Malta, by virtue of the

the power which they had received from the grand maſter and council, took an oath, in their name, to maintain the inhabitants and people of thoſe iſlands in their rights, cuſtoms, and privileges; and left, by the grand maſter's order, the commander Aurelio Botigella, as governor and captain of arms of Malta, and the chevalier Auguſtin de Vintioville as his lieutenant.

A SPANISH officer, Alvarez de Nava by name, who commanded in the caſtle of St. Angelo, having delivered up that fort to them, they delivered it up to the commander Peter Piton, who accordingly took poſſeſſion of it, at the head of a company of foot. Not long after this, the grand maſter ſent two gallies and a galion, with a conſiderable number of knights on board, to Tripoli, whereof he named governor, Gaſpar of Sangueſſea, commander of Aliagne. The commiſſioners, after having provided for the defence of theſe ſeveral places, returned on board, and arrived at Saragoſſa or Syracuſe in Sicily, where the council, for the better conveniency of their paſſage to Malta, had been already aſſembled for ſome time.

THE grand maſter, before his ſetting out, ſent a great number of workmen and materials to Malta, to rebuild the lodgment of the caſtle of St. Angelo, which was entirely ruined, and ſhipped off powder and ammunition in the ſame veſſels. But when he was for ſhipping off corn, the viceroy of Sicily inſiſted upon the duties of exportation; and the maſter of the mint acquainted the council, that the emperor would not ſuffer any money but what bore his impreſs to be coined at Malta, and that by his officers only. Theſe difficulties, thus ſtarted, retarded the departure of all the knights. The grand maſter and council were very ſenſible, that Malta could not poſſibly ſubſiſt without receiving corn from Sicily, and they looked upon theſe duties of exportation, from which the inhabitants of Malta, as denizens of Sicily, had been always exempted, as an indirect duty and tribute, to which the order was going to be ſubjected.

NOR did they leſs reſent their pretending to deprive an order that was ſovereign and independent, of the right of coining money. Theſe ſeveral circumſtances made them apprehenſive, leſt the emperor, a prince who was ever to be guarded againſt in his treaties, and whoſe words, though in outward appearance clear and free from ambiguity, nevertheleſs concealed equivocal meanings, ſhould one day make uſe of theſe pretenſions as a right, and employ them in keeping the order in an abſolute dependence. Reflections of this nature alarmed the greateſt part of the knights: There were many of them who maintained, that it would be impoſſible for the order to preſerve its liberty in the neighbourhood of ſo powerful and ambitious a prince; others of a warmer temper, and who were for ſtraining of every thing, inſiſted openly that they muſt abſolutely break the treaty; that Malta was a barren iſland, or rather rock, where the inhabitants would die of hunger; that the two elements of man's food, viz. bread and water, were wanting in it; and that the preſent which Charles V. had made them, was not worth the parchment they had employed in writing the deed of gift. But the grand maſter and council, more prudent and circumſpect in their views as well as words, thought proper to inform themſelves of the emperor's real inclinations from himſelf only; for which purpoſe they diſpatched two embaſſadors to him, with orders to repreſent, that his imperial majeſty was very ſenſible, that ſo far from drawing any advantage from the iſles of Malta and Goza and the city of Tripoli, he was at the yearly expence of 340,000 livres for the maintaining the garriſons in the ſeveral ſtrong holds and caſtles; that it would have been impoſſible for the inhabitants to ſubſiſt in them, had they not ever been conſidered as denizens of Sicily, and as ſuch, had not enjoyed the privilege of receiving corn from thence, free from any duty of exportation; that the order had been ſurpriſed, he ſhould be for rendering their condition worſe than that of the preſent inhabitants; nor were they leſs ſurpriſed that, by the deed of gift, though they were

to

to be acknowledged as ſovereign and independent, yet nevertheleſs, they ſhould be debarred from coining money, and by that means be deprived of one of the choiceſt of its royal prerogatives, and which the grand prior of Germany enjoyed, in all its latitude, in the empire. The embaſſadors were ordered not to abate a title in theſe articles; and, at the ſame time, by a particular one, were expreſly commanded, in caſe the emperor ſhould abſolutely inſiſt upon the pretenſions of his miniſters, to give him back immediately his deed of gift, to take their leave of him, and to return back forthwith.

THESE two miniſters were no ſooner arrived at his court, and admitted to an audience, but they, inſtead of opening with the deſign for which they had chiefly been ſent, told him, that their ſuperiors had ſent them to thank his imperial majeſty for the great exactneſs, as well as little trouble, which his commiſſioners had given the order, in putting them in poſſeſſion of the iſlands and ſtrong holds, of which he had been ſo gracious as to make a ceſſion in their favour; and that the grand maſter was juſt upon the point of tranſporting himſelf thither, and all the convent. They added, that he ſhould even have been ſet out by this time for that purpoſe, had not ſome difficulties aroſe, which the viceroy of Sicily had ſtarted, only from the great zeal he had for his ſervice; but that the whole order hoped, that his majeſty, out of his wonted goodneſs, would come to a reſolution, and determine that affair. After having told him, in a few words, what the viceroy's pretenſions were, as if the emperor had known nothing of the matter, they artfully inſinuated to him, that although the grand maſter and council were highly ſenſible of the importance and value of the gift which he had made them of Malta, that nevertheleſs, it had not yet been accepted by the unanimous conſent of all the knights; that the French in particular, who had been brought up at Rhodes, and in an independence that naturally reſults from an unlimited ſovereignty, appeared to be leaſt ſatisfied with it; that they had juſt rea-

ſons to apprehend, they ſhould make the ſeveral pretenſions of the viceroy ſerve as a handle to oppoſe the tranſlation of the council; that his imperial majeſty knew very well, that the ſuperiors of a free republic, compoſed of knights of various nations, and educated in a certain pomp of courage, were not to exert their authority, but with the utmoſt circumſpection, and particularly in an affair, wherein each private man imagined he had as great an intereſt as his ſuperiors; for which reaſon, the grand maſter and council conjured him to finiſh this work of his own creation himſelf, and to employ his ſovereign authority for the removing of the obſtacles which his miniſters formed. They concluded with aſſuring him, that the free and voluntary acknowledgments and gratitude of the knights, and their zeal in defending his territories againſt the infidels, would greatly compenſate all the viceroy's pretenſions.

NOTWITHSTANDING that the emperor's deſign in making over Malta to the order of St. John, was to make it ſerve as a bulwark to cover his kingdoms of Sicily and Naples; nevertheleſs this monarch never gave up the moſt inconſiderable of his intereſts, but in the view of gaining a more conſiderable one by ſuch a ceſſion. He inſiſted ſtrongly on the viceroy's pretenſions, imagining that the order, after having brought matters thus far, would not break the treaty for the ſake of thoſe two articles. In order therefore to increaſe the duties of exportation, he declared that he could not conſent to allow the order to fetch corn from Sicily, unleſs they would agree to pay a certain ſum *per* tun, as ſhould afterwards be agreed upon; and to procure to himſelf a kind of right of ſovereignty over the order, he added, that he abſolutely would not allow the order to coin money, or any other to be current all the iſland over, but what was coined in his own mints.

If theſe two miniſters had acted directly as they were ordered by their inſtructions, all the treaty would have been at an end; but they thought it important enough

enough to merit their ſending for new orders from the council how to act. Accordingly they wrote with the utmoſt expedition to the grand maſter, who immediately ſent advice of it to the pope, the protector of the order. The pontiff diſpatched to the emperor the prior Salviati his nephew, who was at his holineſs's court in quality of reſident of the grand maſter and the whole order; and this miniſter made ſo good an advantage of the credit which the pope had then with the emperor, that he obtained from him a new treaty, in which the two articles relating to the exportation of corn, and the coining of money, were inſerted in favour of the order.

NOTHING was now wanting for the entire eſtabliſhment of the knights at Malta, but the tranſportation of the grand maſter, of the council, and all the knights into that iſland. They firſt put on board five gallies, two great carracks, and ſeveral tranſport ſhips, the inhabitants of Rhodes, who being reſolved to ſhare the fortune of the order, had continued with the knights ever ſince they had quitted that iſland. They alſo ſhipped on board theſe veſſels the effects and records of the order, as likeways various moveables, together with ammunition and proviſions. A great number of knights and ſoldiers in their pay, went over in this little fleet, which, before its arrival, met with a dreadful ſtorm, in which one of their gallies was daſhed to pieces againſt a rock; one of the carracks had alſo like to have been loſt; ſhe was already got into the port at Malta, when immediately there aroſe ſuch mighty winds, that notwithſtanding her being faſtened with three anchors, ſhe broke all her cables, and after twice running a-ground, at laſt ſunk in the ſand. They thought her loſt, when a contrary wind ſpringing up, raiſed her; after which they ſet her a-float, and found that her hull had received no manner of damage. Such as are for drawing predictions from every thing, did not fail to give out, that heaven ſeemed by that incident to point out the fate of the order, which, after having ſuffered ſo great

a variety of dangers and ſtorms, ſhould at laſt fix itſelf happily in Malta.

THIS iſland is ſituated in the 46th degree of longitude, and the 35th degree 10 minutes of northern latitude; it has the Mediterranean to the Eaſt, looking towards Candia; to the north Sicily, which is but fifteen leagues diſtant from it, Tripoli in Barbary to the ſouth, and the iſlands of Pantalarea, Linoſa, and Lampaduſa to the Weſt, and that part of the ſea which ſeparates that iſland from Sicily, generally goes by the name of the channel of Malta. This country, according to a tradition of its inhabitants, had been antiently governed by an African prince called Battus. It was ſince in the hands of the Carthaginians; and at the time that the knights of St. John took poſſeſſion of it, they met with ſeveral inſcriptions in the Punic tongue, engraved on pieces of marble and broken pillars. The Romans, during the wars of Sicily, drove the Carthaginians from thence; and the Arabians, about the 9th century, and after the ruin of the empire, made themſelves maſters of it. About anno 1190, Roger, the Norman count of Sicily, won this iſland from the Barbarians; ſince which time, it has been always annexed to the kingdom of Sicily, whoſe fortune it had ever followed.

THE grand maſter, the council, and chief commanders got into the great port on the 26th of October; and, as ſoon as they were landed, they went directly to the parochial church of St. Lawrence, where, having paid their firſt homage to him whom the order acknowledge for its only ſovereign, they went to the town, which is ſituated at the foot of the caſtle of St. Angelo. The grand maſter could hardly meet with a houſe for himſelf to lodge in, they being no more than ſo many fiſhermen's huts, in which the commanders and knights diſperſed themſelves. The grand-maſter took up his quarters in the caſtle; and ſome days after his entry, he went and took poſſeſſion of the capital, that lay further up the country, and about the middle of the iſland.

26. Oct. 1530.

'Tis called by Ptolemy *Melita*, after the name of the whole iſland; others give it the name of the *noble city*. We are told that it was not then 1300 paces in circumference: 'twas the uſual reſidence of the biſhop. The grand maſter, after his authority had been acknowledged by all the inhabitants, went through the whole iſland to find out a place that might be ſafe, as well as commodious, for the ſettling of the council and the whole body of knights.

WE have already obſerved, that the two greateſt ports were ſeparated from one another by a neck of land or rock, called *Mount Sceberras*, which commanded them both. This place appeared to him to be very commodiouſly ſituated for the raiſing of a new city. The grand maſter would have been very deſirous, in caſe the order could ſubſiſt in the iſland, to ſettle the convent in that place; but as the circumſtances of the order at that time would not allow them to execute ſuch a deſign, though judged to be ſo very uſeful, the grand maſter and council were obliged, in that infancy of things, to ſettle themſelves in the caſtle of St. Angelo, the only place of defence that was in the iſland, and the knights diſperſed themſelves up and down the town, which is ſituated at the foot of the fort: this was their firſt reſidence. This town had no fortifications, and was commanded on all ſides. The grand maſter built a wall round it, to prevent his being ſurpriſed by the corſairs: they have ſince added flanks to it, with raſſaults at certain diſtances, agreeable to the unevenneſs and declivity of the ground. The grand maſter did not intend to continue long in that place, but was reſolved, before he ſettled himſelf entirely there, to make an attempt upon Modon, a rich and populous city; and a circumſtance which gave him the greateſt ſatisfaction, was its little diſtance from Rhodes, which the order might be able to ſurpriſe, in caſe a civil war ſhould break out among the Turks, or even attack openly in other conjunctures. He deſigned, in caſe the ſiege of Modon ſhould miſcarry, and that the order ſhould be obliged to continue at Malta, to build

a new city upon that point of rock above mentioned, which went by the name of Mount Sceberras. But the immenſe ſums the order had ſpent for eight years together, for the ſubſiſtence of the knights and Rhodians in Italy; the different tranſlations from Candia to Meſſina, from Meſſina to Civita Vecchia, from thence to Viterbo, from Viterbo to Nice, to Villa Franca, and other places in Italy; and even Sicily, where the knights, for their eaſier ſubſiſtence, were diſperſed up and down, with the grand maſter's leave; ſo many cruiſings, voyages, journeys, tranſmigrations of a whole body of people, of which that colony was compoſed, had quite drained the treaſury of the order, and would not allow the grand maſter to execute ſo great a project. He was even diſtaſted with every thing he ſaw in Malta; the barrenneſs of the ſoil; their bread, which they were obliged to ſeek, as it were, as far as Sicily; the poverty of the inhabitants; their ruſtic and ſavage behaviour; no place of defence in caſe of an attack: ſuch gloomy reflections as theſe afflicted him very ſenſibly, and awak'd, with the utmoſt grief in his mind, the remembrance of Rhodes, ſo fruitful in corn, ſo rich by its fleets and armaments; and moreover, the capital of five or ſix other iſlands or ſtrong holds, the moſt inconſiderable of which was much better fortified than Malta. But as l'Iſle-Adam was informed with a ſpirit of bravery and a greatneſs of ſoul, ſuperior even to the moſt unhappy accidents of life, he generouſly took his reſolutions at once; and without forgetting the enterprize of Modon, devoted all his cares to the building ſome houſes for the knights to dwell in, in order to make their reſidence in the iſland more ſupportable. 'Twas from this laſt eſtabliſhment that they borrowed the name of Malta, inſtead of that of the knights of Rhodes, which they had made illuſtrious by a continual ſeries of great actions during upwards of 200 years.

End of the third Volume.

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